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A HISTORY OF EGYPT

VOL. V

ROMAN RULE

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A
HISTORY OF EGYPT
UNDER ROMAN RULE

BY
J. GRAFTON MILNE, M.A.
SOMETIME SCHOLAR OF C.C.C., OXFORD

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

THIRD EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED

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PREFACE

IN the quarter of a century which has elapsed since the first edition of this book was printed, so many papyri and other records of the Roman period have been found in Egypt and published, that some recasting of the plan has been necessary in order to get the essential matter into the available space. Besides the original appendices, which were mainly of a temporary nature, the lists of documents formerly inserted at the head of the account of each emperor's reign have been cut out, as, if they were now completed up to date, the items would run into several thousands, and occupy more room than can be spared: moreover, the most important of them are collected and classified in the *Chrestomathie* of Mitteis and Wilcken, and a complete account of the papyri published up to 1911 is given by F. Hohmann (*Zur Chronologie der Papyrusurkunden*). The notes have also been abbreviated wherever possible by quoting previous summaries of evidence, especially in the chapters on Organisation and the Army, for which practically all the documents are cited in the exhaustive works of Oertel and Lesquier respectively, so that a reference to them will suffice. Elsewhere, in the selection of illustrative material, I have chosen documents printed in the *Chrestomathie* if such were available, as this is the handiest book for anyone who wishes

to consult original sources, and have given the numbers of the documents in it. As nearly all the inscriptions mentioned are included in the *Inscriptiones Græcæ ad res Romanas pertinentes*, they are quoted by its numbers, without the addition of previous publications.

There will probably be much more light thrown on the history of Roman Egypt in the near future: hundreds of papyri which have been recovered are awaiting decipherment, and fresh discoveries are continually being made, while the intensive study from different standpoints of those already edited leads to a fuller comprehension of their import. It is to be expected therefore that many of the statements made in this book will be supplemented, if not supplanted, in due course; but I have tried to give a synopsis of the facts known up to date, and to draw reasonable conclusions from them. It has not been possible, from considerations of space, to go into the arguments on some disputed questions at any adequate length, and so it has seemed better to state simply the view which I accept.

In the matter of spelling of proper names, titles, and the like, I have not attempted to be rigidly consistent: as the characters on the scene are a mixed crowd of Romans, Greeks, and Egyptians, it would be rather misleading to adapt all their names to a single language. Where a well-known name or title has obtained an English form in common use—such as Hadrian, Origen, prefect—I have adopted that: otherwise the choice between Greek or Latin forms has generally been determined by what seemed more suitable in each case.

The notes and references convey a statement of my obligations to previous writers on the subjects discussed: I desire also to acknowledge gratefully the help given me by Professor A. S. Hunt, who read through the whole script and made many suggestions, and by Mr. H. I. Bell, who showed me advance proofs of his work and discussed certain problems with me.

FARNHAM, *Sept.* 1924

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN REFERENCES

(1) PAPYRI AND OSTRAKA

B.G.U.	Aegyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin: Griechische Urkunden. Berlin, 1894-
C.P. Herm.	C. Wessely, Corpus Papyrorum Hermopolitanorum. (= P. Stud. Pal. v.)
C.P.R.	C. Wessely, Corpus Papyrorum Raineri. Vienna, 1895-
Gnomon	W. Schubart, der Gnomon des Idios Logos (B.G.U.V.I.). Berlin, 1919.
G O.	U. Wilcken, Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien. Leipzig, 1899.
M. Chr.	L. Mitteis, Chrestomathie der Papyrus- kunde. Leipzig, 1912.
P. Amh.	B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, The Amherst Papyri. London, 1900-1.
P. Bas.	E. Rabel, Papyrusurkunden der öffentlichen Bibliothek der Universität zu Basel: Urkunden in griechischer sprache. Leipzig, 1917.
P. Cairo	J. Maspero, Papyrus Grecs d'époque byzantine (Catalogue général du Musée du Caire). Cairo, 1911-6.
P. Fay.	B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth, Fayûm Towns and their Papyri. London, 1900.
P. Flor.	G. Vitelli and D. Comparetti, Papiri Fiorentini. Milan, 1906-15.
P. Gen.	J. Nicole, Les papyrus de Genève. Geneva, 1896-1900.
P. Giess.	E. Kornemann and P. M. Meyer, Griechische Papyrus im Museum zu Giessen. Leipzig, 1910-
P. Grenf. i.	B. P. Grenfell, An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and other Greek Papyri. Oxford, 1896.

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- P. Oxy. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (and others), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. London, 1898-
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- P. Tebt. B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and E. J. Goodspeed, *The Tebtunis Papyri*, vol. ii. London, 1907.
- P. Thead. P. Jouguet, *Papyrus de Théadelphie*. Paris, 1911.
- S.B. F. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten*. Strasburg, 1913-
- Theb. Ost. A. H. Gardiner, H. Thompson, and J. G. Milne, *Theban Ostraca*. Toronto, 1913.
- W. Chr. U. Wilcken, *Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*. Leipzig, 1912.

(2) INSCRIPTIONS AND MONUMENTS

- B.M.C. British Museum, Catalogue of the
Coins of Alexandria and the Nomes,
by R. S. Poole. London, 1892.
- Cairo Cat. Catalogue général du Musée du Caire
(following vols. quoted)—
Demotische Denkmäler, von W.
Spiegelberg. Leipzig, 1904-8.
Græco-Egyptian Coffins, by C. C.
Edgar. Cairo, 1905.
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Cairo, 1904.
Greek Inscriptions, by J. G. Milne.
Oxford, 1905.
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Cairo, 1903.
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Cairo, 1911.
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Vienna, 1904.
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Ahmed Bey Kamal. Cairo, 1904-5.
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iii. if no other number given). Berlin,
1828-77.
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iii. if no other number given). Berlin,
1862-
- C.M.A. Catalogue général des antiquités
égyptiennes du Musée d'Alexandrie.
Iscrizioni greche e latini. E. Breccia.
Cairo, 1911.
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pertinentes. Paris, 1906-

(3) PERIODICALS

- A.A.A. Annals of Archæology and Anthro-
pology. Liverpool.
- A.J.A. American Journal of Archæology.
Baltimore.
- Anc. Egypt Ancient Egypt. London.
- Ann. Epigr. L'Année Epigraphique. Paris.
- Ann. Serv. Annales du Service des Antiquités de
l'Égypte. Cairo.
- Arch. Pap. Archiv für Papyrusforschung.
Leipzig.
- B.S.A.A. Bulletin de la Société Archéologique
d'Alexandrie. Alexandria.

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Bodleian Q. Record	Bodleian Quarterly Record. Oxford.
C.R. Inscr.	Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Paris.
J.E.A.	Journal of Egyptian Archæology. London.
J.H.S.	Journal of Hellenic Studies. London.
J.R.S.	Journal of Roman Studies. London.
Num. Chron.	Numismatic Chronicle. London.
P.S.B.A.	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology. London.
Rev. Epigr.	Revue Epigraphique (new series). Paris.
Zeitschr. Aeg.	Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache. Berlin.

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A HISTORY OF EGYPT UNDER ROMAN RULE

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST CENTURY OF ROMAN RULE IN EGYPT,
30 B.C.—68 A.D.

AUGUSTUS.

30 B.C.—14 A.D.

Prefects.

C. Cornelius Gallus	. { 30 B.C. 29 B.C., Apr. 17.	(Strabo, xvii. 1. 53.) (C.I.L. 14147 ⁵ = I.G.R. 1293.)
Ælius Gallus	. . c. 27 B.C.	(Strabo, xvi. 4. 22, xvii. 1. 53.)
C. Petronius	. . { 25 B.C. 21 B.C.	(Strabo, xvii. 1. 54.) (/b.)
P. Rubrius Barbarus	. 13/12 B.C.	(C.I.L. 6588 = I.G.R. 1072.)
C. Turranius	. . { ? 7 B.C., Mar. 8. 4 B.C., June 4.	(I.G.R. 1295.) (B.G.U. 1199.)
P. Octavius	. . { 2/1 B.C. 3 A.D., Feb. 19.	(B.G.U. 1200.) (I.G.R. 1117.)
C. Julius Aquila	. . 10/11.	(C.I.L. 12046.)
Magius Maximus	. . ? 12.	(S.B. 5235; cf. Philo, adv. Flacc. 10.)

Idiologoi.

Q. Attius Fronto	. . 13, Feb. 3.	(P. Oxy. 1188.)
C. Seppius Rufus	. { 13/14. See under Tiberius.	(P. Oxy. 721.)

Epistrategoi.

(Theb.).

Ptolemaios s. Herakleides	17/16 B.C.	(I.G.R. 1302.)
Q. Corvius Flaccus	. bef. 4 B.C., Jan. 8.	(I.G.R. 1109.)
M. Clodius Postumus	. 1 A.D., Sept. 6.	(I.G.R. 1163.)

30 B.C.] 1. THE deaths of Antony and Cleopatra secured for Augustus immediate recognition as their successor in the kingdom of Egypt, and he was able to delegate the main part of the work connected with the organisation of the country to his prefect. The only measures which were probably taken in hand under his personal direc-

tion were in the region of the Delta, the most important being the safeguarding of Alexandria. Here a new camp, in which a legion was quartered, was established at Nikopolis, about four miles to the east of the city: the record of Alexandria under the later Ptolemies doubtless showed Augustus that it was the most dangerous focus of disturbance in the lower part of the country, and that a substantial force needed to be kept close at hand to overawe the populace. It is said that he designed to remove to Nikopolis the seat of government and the official celebration of religion; but, if this was ever intended, it was not carried out so far as the ordinary machinery of ad-



FIG. 1.—Augustus: Temple K, Philæ.

ministration was concerned; Nikopolis was not in effect more than a garrison town, and the offices of the civil service and the religious authorities remained in Alexandria. The general policy adopted towards the capital city, however, was one which might have given ground to the suggestion: the Greek inhabitants were deprived of their senate, and, although various titular magistracies, such as the gymnasiarchy, were allowed to continue, the main function of the holders was to spend their money for

the pleasure of their fellow-citizens and enjoy a decorative position; they had no common administrative powers. This was a blow at the privileges of the Greeks which was much resented, the more so as it was accompanied by a renewal to the Jews, their constant rivals, of all the rights and privileges which they had enjoyed under the Ptolemies, and which included the regulation of their own



FIG. 2.—Augustus adoring Isis : Tentyra.



FIG. 3.—Philæ: Temple of Hathor.

affairs through an ethnarch and a council of elders: this favour was granted to the Jews by Augustus in the teeth

of a request from the Greeks for its refusal, and it seems



FIG. 4.—Khnum forming Augustus, and Hekt giving him life: Tentyra.

clear that he had no intention of founding his rule in Egypt on the goodwill of the Hellenic elements in the population, who were rather to have their new position as a conquered instead of a governing class impressed upon them.

2. The military occupation of Babylon, the key of the communications of Lower

Egypt, would naturally engage the attention of the



FIG. 5.—Talmis: Front of Temple.

Romans at an early moment, and it may have been directed by Augustus himself, as it is recorded that

he visited Memphis before departing for Syria. The overland route from Alexandria to Syria would take him by the apex of the Delta, and, if he stopped there, the most obvious reason would be the measures necessary to secure his hold on the country. A few years later Strabo reported that a legion was stationed at Babylon.

3. The submission of Lower Egypt to the Roman government did not carry with it that of the Southern districts, which had for many years been in an almost constant state of rebellion against the Ptolemaic rule, and were not likely to accept a Roman emperor any more willingly than a Greek king. So the first duties which fell to the prefect, Cornelius Gallus, who was



FIG. 6.—Tentyra : Temple from the south.

left in charge of the country by Augustus, consisted in suppressing disturbances in the interior. A rising at Heroonpolis, a town of some military importance on [29 B.C. the road to Palestine, was speedily crushed; but a much more widely spread revolt was caused in the Thebaid by the arrival of the Roman tax-collectors. The Egyptians, however, soon found that the Roman troops were a more formidable instrument of government than the Ptolemies had possessed: in fifteen days the rebels were crushed in two pitched battles, and five towns were reduced—Boresis, Koptos, Keramike, Diospolis, and Ophieion, the last three being separate quarters of the great aggregate of Thebes. The prefect marched on to Syene, and on the island of Philæ met ambassadors from the ruler of the Æthiopians of Meroë.

The region beyond the First Cataract had long been entirely independent of Egypt; and Gallus, not caring

to venture farther than the easily defensible frontier-line of Syene, came to terms with the ambassadors, by which the region above the Cataract known as the Triakontaschoinos was constituted in some sort a Roman protectorate, but left in the hands of the Æthiopians.

4. This easy conquest of the country seems to have turned the head of Gallus: he is reported to have caused statues to be set up in his own honour, and inscriptions to be carved on public buildings, and thus to have aroused the displeasure of Augustus. The one example of his inscriptions which has been found, on the island of Philæ, though somewhat vainglorious in tone, does not suggest any suspicion of his loyalty; but it was probably thought desirable by Augustus to emphasise the absoluteness of his own autocracy in Egypt, and he recalled his presumptuous prefect. Gallus thereupon committed suicide.

5. The work of settling



FIG. 7.—Augustus: Talmis.

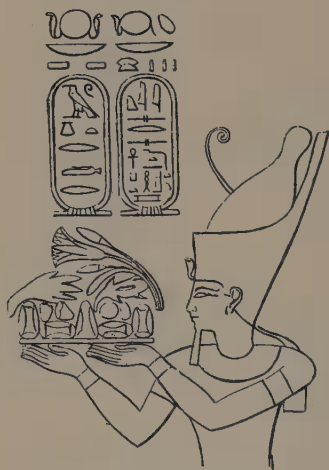


FIG. 8.—Augustus: Debôt.

the relations of Egypt with its neighbours on the south and south-east had not been satisfactorily accomplished, and Ælius Gallus was sent out with a special commission to subdue or come to terms with the tribes on either side of the Red Sea in Arabia and Trogodytica, as well as the Æthiopians. The real object in view was to secure the trade-routes with Central Africa and India, though common report

[27 B.C.]



FIG. 9.—Talmis : Temple from behind.

ascribed the origin of the valuable goods which came along these channels to the nearest of the countries through which they passed, and the Romans hoped that by conquering Arabia and Æthiopia they would secure the sources of supply of gold, silver, spices, and precious stones. Ælius Gallus accordingly planned an expedition into Arabia, and mustered a force of 10,000 men, composed of Roman troops from Egypt and allies, amongst whom were 500 Jews, presumably sent by

Herod, and 1000 Nabatæans under Syllæus, the chief minister of the client-king Obodas. The expedition was badly managed from the first: a fleet was built at Kleopatris at the head of the gulf of Suez equipped for naval warfare, the Roman leaders being apparently ignorant of the fact that no resistance was to be expected from the Arabs on the sea; then, when the mistake was discovered, transports were substituted, and the army taken by a fifteen days' voyage to Leuke Kome on the Nabatæan coast, with the loss on the way of several ships, and with much sickness among the



FIG. 10.—Dendûr : Temple.

men. There they wintered, and in the spring moved on by land marches into Sabæan territory. But though they met no organised opposition, and had no difficulty in scattering the ill-armed Arabian forces and capturing several towns, when they reached the capital, Mariaba, after a march of six months, they were compelled by want of water to abandon the attempt to reduce it after six days' siege, and withdrew to the port of Egra in Nabatæan territory, whence the remains of the army crossed the Red Sea to Myos Hormos and returned to Alexandria by the desert road to Koptos and down the Nile.

6. The losses incurred by the Romans in this expedition were heavy, almost entirely due to disease and lack of supplies on the long overland march. It is clear that Gallus had not obtained any sufficient information about the country he proposed to invade: there would have been no difficulty in learning from merchants the shortest route to Southern Arabia, either through Myos Hormos, the way actually taken on the retreat, or through Berenike, so as to avoid the difficult voyage down the Red Sea and the traverse of the Arabian desert coast. The blame for the misadventure was laid on Syllæus, the Nabatæan leader, who was taken to Rome and executed; but it was probably due to the want of capacity shown by Gallus that he was removed from the prefecture of Egypt.

7. There were, however, some indirect gains from the attempt on Arabia: the knowledge of the navigation of the Red Sea won by the fleet would be turned to account by Roman traders, and the tribes of the coast, though not definitely subdued, would have realised the power of Roman arms. The oriental trade began to be diverted to the ports on the west from those on the east of the Red Sea, and the regular route taken by it in the first century was through Myos Hormos to Koptos.

8. The absence of Ælius Gallus and a part of the Roman garrison of Egypt in Arabia had emboldened the Æthiopians to break off the relations which Cornelius Gallus had established with them, and their muster of 30,000 ill-armed men had seized Syene, [25 B.C. Elephantine, and Philæ, defeating the three Roman cohorts which were stationed in that district. Petronius, the new prefect, however, brought up a force of 10,000 infantry and 800 cavalry, and drove them back to Pselkis. There three days were spent in fruitless negotiations, at the close of which the Romans attacked and defeated them and successively stormed Pselkis, Premis, and the Æthiopian capital Napata. Kandake, the queen of the Æthiopians, then sent to sue for peace, and surrendered the captives and spoil from

Syene; and Petronius, judging it unwise to advance farther, returned to Alexandria, leaving a garrison of 400 men provisioned for two years at Premis.

9. Towards the end of the two years he was recalled south by the news that his garrison was besieged by Kandake with a large force; but he speedily relieved it, and, when the queen offered to reopen negotiations, ordered her to communicate direct with the emperor. Her ambassadors found Augustus at Samos, and were



FIG. II.—Pselkis: Temple and Pylon.

21 B.C.] favourably received; and the Roman troops were withdrawn from the upper part of the territory of the Triakontaschoinos. The outpost was fixed at Hieria Sykaminos, and the district between this and Syene, known as the Dodekaschoinos, was organised as a kind of military frontier, with a string of stations along the river: in civilian matters it was dependent on the authorities of the nearest nome of Egypt, Elephantine.

13 B.C.] A few years later a mission from Egypt to the queen of Æthiopia left a record at Pselkis on its homeward way; but with this exception nothing is heard of the Æthiop-

ians for many years after the expedition of Petronius, and their relations with Rome seem on the whole to have been peaceful.

10. Petronius carried out important works of organisation in Egypt itself, where the population generally were settling down under the new rule. He had indeed to deal with a riot at Alexandria, but this was probably nothing more than one of the periodical outbreaks of that turbulent city, and was easily quelled. And the peasantry were given reason to be satisfied with Roman management when the prefect directed the clearing of the irrigation-canals, which had silted up during the reigns of the later Ptolemies to such an extent as seriously to diminish the amount of land under cultivation. The work was accomplished so successfully that a rise of twelve cubits at Memphis, when the Nile was in flood, conferred as much benefit on the country as one of fourteen had done in previous years.

11. If a reason for the riot of the Alexandrians needed to be found, it might be in another of the operations of Petronius, which would be likely to provoke much resentment in some quarters—the transference to the State of the property of the Egyptian temples. The power and possessions of the native priesthood, which had been strictly regulated by the earlier Ptolemies, had grown again under the weak kings at the end of the dynasty; and Augustus doubtless recognised the importance of reducing this focus of national feeling to impotence. The temple lands were therefore annexed [? 20-19 B.C. to the imperial domain by Petronius, though the priests might be allowed to cultivate some part of the former property of their gods in lieu of receiving a stipend; and probably at the same time the whole organisation of the local temples was centralised under the *idiologos*, the chief finance officer of Egypt, who was entitled high-priest of Alexandria and all Egypt.

12. While curbing the material power of the priests, however, Augustus did not interfere with the observance of the local cults; and a considerable amount of

building at several of the great temples still standing in Upper Egypt is dated to his reign. At Tentyra and Philæ in particular the work of construction was actively carried on ; and the temples in the Nubian frontier march at *Debôt*, Talmis, and *Dendûr* also show his cartouches on their walls. Records exist of other sacred buildings, now destroyed, which were dedicated in his name, such as the peribolos of a temple at Soknopaiou Nesos in the Fayûm ; and the Cæsareum at Alexandria, originally planned by Cleopatra as a temple of Antony, was completed in honour of their conqueror ; in front of it two obelisks were erected.

13. The list of building and similar activities under Augustus is a comparatively long one, especially if account is taken of the military and public works, such as the construction of the camp at Nikopolis, the restoration of that at Koptos, the repair of the cisterns on the road thence to the Red Sea, and the digging of a canal from Schedia to Alexandria, and it is remembered that these are probably only a few cases in which records chance to have been preserved out of many similar ones where they have perished.

TIBERIUS.

14-37.

Prefects.

L. Seius Strabo	. ?	(Dio C. lvii. 19. 6.)
C. Galerius	. { 23, Feb./Mar.	(I.G.R. 1150.)
	{ c. 31.	(Seneca, ad Helv. 19.)
Hiberus (vice-pr.)	. c. 32.	(Dio C. lviii. 19. 6 ;
		Philo, adv. Flacc. 1.)
A. Avillius Flaccus	{ c. 32.	(Philo, adv. Flacc. 1.)
	{ See under Caligula.	

Idiologi.

C. Seppius Rufus	. { See under Augustus.	
	{ 15, June 30.	(P. Lond. 276.)
M. Vergilius Gallus	. ?	(C.I.L. x. 4862.)
Lusius		

Epistrategos.

(Theb.).

A. Folmius Crispus	32/37.	(I.G.R. 1164.)
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14. During the latter part of the reign of Augustus and most of that of Tiberius, Egypt remained in a state of comparative tranquillity; so that by the tenth year of the latter emperor the three legions which had [23 A.D.] formed the main strength of the original Roman garrison of the country had been reduced to two. The strict watch which Tiberius kept on his ministers in the interests of the provincials tended to preserve this tranquillity, by checking any exaction or oppression on the part of the officials which might have given occasion for disturbances among the people. Thus he rebuked a prefect, who sent to Rome a larger amount of tribute than had been fixed, for flaying his sheep instead of shearing them; and it is during his reign that the first instances occur of the direct raising of taxes by nominated collectors, in place of the old system of farming them out.

15. The same strictness appears in his censure of Germanicus Cæsar, who, when sent out as governor of the East, took the opportunity of visiting Egypt on an antiquarian tour, ascending the Nile as far as Syene. He had, however, omitted to obtain permission from the emperor, and had thus broken the law laid down by Augustus, which forbade any Roman citizen of senatorial rank, without such permission, to enter Alexandria: it was also reported that he had taken upon himself to open the public granaries in a time of scarcity, and allow the corn stored there to be sold, thus lowering the price of grain; and that he had gone about among the people in a Greek dress, without guards. He seems indeed to have endeavoured to prevent any cause of offence by the issue of edicts desiring the Egyptians not to treat him with excessive adulation, and forbidding forced quarterings or requisitions.



[19 A.D.]

FIG. 12.—Tiberius: Philæ.

tion of beasts and supplies without payment on the occasion of his visit ; but these directions were probably disregarded by the populace, and there is evidence that the officials at Thebes levied contributions of corn in preparation for his arrival. The apparent bid for popularity was capable of a treasonable interpretation, especially when done in Egypt, the province which gave to its possessor the command of Rome, and which



FIG. 13.—Philæ: West side of Great Court.

was always ready to embark on a new course of sedition with any leader who might call to it ; and it was visited with severe reproof by Tiberius.

16. The resumption of a silver coinage at Alexandria may be taken as evidence that the prosperity of the country was increasing. Under the later Ptolemies, it had been flooded with debased silver tetradrachms, the value of which as against the copper currency was continually varying. Augustus stopped the issue of tetradrachms, and struck only limited quantities of

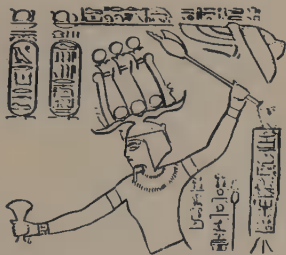
copper, possibly with a view of stabilising the exchange. In the seventh year of Tiberius, however, tetradrachms



FIG. 14.—Tentyra: Portico of Temple. (Photo by W. M. F. Petrie.)

again appeared from the Alexandrian mint; they were still debased, but the silver content was fixed at that of the Roman denarius, with which they were equated for purposes of reckoning, and it remained fairly constant for over a century: at the same time the output of copper coinage diminished.

17. Towards the end of the reign signs that fresh disturbances were feared are to be traced in an edict of the prefect Avillius Flaccus, in



[34-35 A.D.]

FIG. 15.—Tiberius: Philæ.



FIG. 16.—Tiberius offering to Isis and Harpokrates. (Cairo Museum.)



FIG. 17.—Tiberius : Philæ.

which he forbade the carrying of arms on pain of death ; and it may have been in domiciliary visits made in consequence of this edict that large quantities of arms were found, as is reported by Philo. But the measures of Flaccus, who seems to have governed the country with strict justice, prevented any serious outbreak until the death of Tiberius.

CALIGULA.

37-41.

Prefects.

- | | | | |
|---------------------|---|--|--|
| A. Avillius Flaccus | · | f See under Tiberius.
{ 38, autumn. | (Philo, adv. Flacc.
13 ff.) |
| C. Vitrasius Pollio | · | f 39, Apr. 28.
{ 39/40. | (C.I.L. 14147 ¹ .)
(I.G.R. 1057; P.
Lond. 177.) |

Idiologos.

- | | | | |
|-------------------|---|--------|-----------------|
| Servianus Severus | · | 40/41. | (P. Tebt. 298.) |
|-------------------|---|--------|-----------------|

Epistrategos.

(Delta).

- | | | | |
|----------------|---|--------|----------------|
| Ragonius Celer | · | 39/40. | (I.G.R. 1057.) |
|----------------|---|--------|----------------|

18. On the accession of Caligula, the results of a weakening in the central control of the empire were soon manifested at Alexandria, where the old smouldering enmity between the Greeks and the Jews blazed into a flame. The signal for the outbreak was given by the arrival of Agrippa at Alexandria on his way to take possession of the kingdom which his friendship with Caligula had secured him. The Jewish account of what followed, as related by Philo and Josephus, naturally throws the whole blame on the Greeks ; but it may be remarked that the visits of Agrippa and of his son to Alexandria were always coincident with riots. The newly made king was well known to the Alexandrian money-lenders ; and in his sudden elevation from bankruptcy to a throne the mob saw an opportunity for the coarse humour in which they delighted : they dressed up an idiot with a paper crown, and led him about the

[38 A.D.

streets in mockery of the parvenu king. The disturbance having once begun, as the Greeks might feel certain that Agrippa would lay the Jewish case before

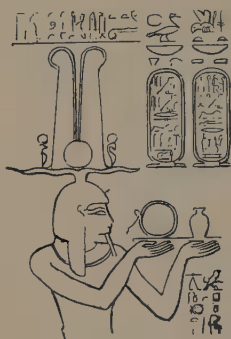


FIG. 18.—Caligula: Tentyra.

his friend the emperor, they proceeded to find a justification for their actions in the plea that the Jews had disregarded the order of Caligula for the erection of statues of himself in all temples, and to enter the Jewish synagogues for the purpose of placing such statues in them. By this stroke of policy they got the prefect on their side, and induced him to withdraw from the Jews their special privileges and to have thirty-eight of the Jewish elders scourged by the

public executioner. Meanwhile the Greeks plundered and slew the Jews at their will.

19. The attempts of the Jewish community to lay a complaint before the emperor were suppressed by Flaccus, until Agrippa took up their cause. His influence was sufficient to secure the disgrace and recall of the prefect, for which a colourable pretext might be found in the facts that he had not been able to keep the peace in his province and had exceeded his powers in depriving the Jews of their privileges; although neither of these arguments would be likely to have any great weight with Caligula in the actual decision of the case, as the riots had arisen over the question of his own deification, and the Jews had been punished for opposing his wishes. The position of Flaccus had also been weakened by an estrangement from the Alexandrian Greeks, three of whose leaders, Dionysios, Lampon, and Isidoros, had been the main instigators of his action. Isidoros, however, finding that he had gained less influence than he hoped by his anti-Semitism, stirred up a demonstration against the

prefect at the Gymnasium, and had to take refuge in flight in consequence: a fragmentary account of the episodes of this time, written from the Greek point of view, seems to show that Dionysios was also implicated in obscure intrigues against Flaccus.

20. The precautions taken in effecting the deportation of Flaccus serve to show the strong position held by a prefect of Egypt. A centurion was specially dispatched from Rome with a cohort of soldiers, and, on approaching Alexandria, waited till night fell before he entered the harbour. He then hurried to surprise the prefect before news of the arrival of the Roman vessel could reach him, arrested him at a supper-party, and took him back on board without delay.

21. Agrippa had effected the disgrace of Flaccus, but he was unable to procure a favourable hearing at Rome for an embassy which the Jews sent to lay their case before Caligula. This embassy, which was headed by Philo, was confronted by another representing the Greeks, whose spokesman was Apion; and the two parties exhausted themselves in running about the palace after the emperor, and endeavouring to get a few arguments or explanations interposed in the discussion of domestic trivialities which occupied most of the attention of the court. Finally, as the only question of importance appeared to be the worship of the emperor, the Jews were glad to be dismissed by him with an affectation of contemptuous pity for a people who could not recognise that he was a god.

CLAUDIUS.

41-54.

Prefects.

L. Æmilius Rectus	. { 41, Nov. 10.	(P. Lond. 1912.)
	. { 42, Apr. 29.	(P. Lond. 1171 ^{VC} .)
C. Julius Postumus	. { 45, Aug. 8.	(P. Oxy. 283.)
	. { 47/48.	(C.I.L. vi. 918.)
Cn. Vergilius Capito	. { bef. 48, Jan. 25.	(C.I.L. 6024.)
	. { 52, Apr. 24.	(P. Oxy. 39.)
L. Lusius Geta	. . . 54, Mar. 29.	(I.G.R. 1118.)
Modestus	. . . (under Claudius).	(Suidas, s.v. Epaphroditos.)

Idiologos.

Lucius Tullius . . . 44/45. (P. Tebt. 298.)

Dikaiodotes.

C. Cæcina Tuscus . . 51/52. (P. Ryl. 119.)

Epistrategos.

(Theb.).

Ti. Julius Alexander . 42, Apr. 3. (I.G.R. 1165.)

22. There was a revival of the pleadings of the two contending Alexandrian parties at Rome shortly after the accession of Claudius. An

41 A.D.]



FIG. 19.—Claudius: Philæ.

embassy of the Greeks went to offer their professions of goodwill and loyalty to his house, and to recount the honours they desired to confer upon him in such matters as the erection of statues and the celebration of his birthday; they pleaded for the confirmation or renewal of their old privileges, and took the opportunity to set forth their case against the Jews.

The emperor, however, while accepting most of the honours, except those of divinity, and confirming certain existing rights of citizenship, was not disposed to favour the Greek party in the quarrel of nationalities, and delivered a severe admonition to both sides to desist from the feud, which had almost reached the proportions of a war. The influence of Agrippa, who was still in favour at the imperial court, was probably to be traced in this message: it was duly published at Alexandria by the prefect, and Agrippa went so far as to appear in public and read it aloud, thus assuming openly the position of the leader and advocate of the Jews.

23. The message had no lasting effect, and a few years later the rivals appeared again at Rome. On this occasion the protagonists were, on the Greek side

53 A.D.]

two of the former leaders, Isidoros and Lampon, on the Jewish the younger Agrippa, now king of Chalkis. Isidoros stated his case against Agrippa before a court consisting of the emperor and about twenty-four senators. The report of the proceedings is too fragmentary to show what the nature of the plaint was, but it appears that Claudius definitely professed his friendship for Agrippa, that the arguments degenerated into personal recriminations between the emperor on the one side and Isidoros and Lampon on the other, and that the two envoys of the Alexandrians were condemned to death. The Greek party at Alexandria elevated them to the rank of martyrs in the cause of their country against Rome. Over a hundred years later allusion was made to them by another Alexandrian nationalist leader when on his trial before Commodus, and the record of their deeds and sayings seems to have been still circulated in Egypt in the following century.

24. The Roman authorities by this time had realised that, while Alexandria needed to have a strong military guard to keep it quiet, the rest of the country could be sufficiently controlled by small detachments of troops; and when parts of the effectives of the twenty-second legion stationed at Nikopolis were withdrawn, their place was taken and the garrison strengthened by the transfer of the third legion, probably from Babylon, to the same place; thereafter the only permanent legionary camp in Egypt was at the gates of Alexandria. [43 A.D.]

25. In this period there was apparently a considerable development of the trade between Alexandria and India. Since the expedition of Ælius Gallus, the Romans had been steadily improving their knowledge of the Red Sea navigation and gradually squeezing out the Arabian merchants: it seems doubtful whether the Alexandrian ships normally went beyond Aden, as Pliny tells a story of a man being driven by a storm from the mouth of the Red Sea to the coast of Ceylon in the days of Claudius in a way which suggests that there was no regular direct traffic; but measures were taken for the

suppression of piracy in the Red Sea, and it was probably about this time that Aden was occupied by the Romans.

NERO.

54–68.

Prefects.

Ti. Claudius Balbillus .	{ c. 55. 59, Oct. 11 ?	(Tacitus, Ann. xiii. 22.) (Ann. Serv. 1912, p. 97.)
L. Julius Vestinus .	{ 59/60. 61, Jul. 7.	(I.G.R. 1374, 1379.) (I.G.R. 1119.)
C. Cæcina Tuscus .	{ bef. 63 ?	(P. Ryl. 119.; cf. Dio C. lxiii. 18. 1.)
Ti. Julius Alexander .	{ 66. (See under Vespasian.	(Josephus, B.J. .ii. 15. 1.)

26. The occupation of Aden was one of the steps for the securing of the Indian trade which had been necessitated by the growing power of the kingdom of Axum. This new problem on their south-eastern frontier first began to attract the attention of the Romans in the middle of the first century; the Axumites had on the one hand pressed into the upper valley of the Nile at the expense of the Meroites, and so threatened the overland route from Æthiopia, and on the other were trying to get a footing in southern Arabia, which would have enabled them to cut the trade by sea with the East. But the latter part of the plan was checkmated by the formation of a Roman protectorate over the Himyarite kingdom in Arabia, which also secured the control of the island of Socotra, a possession of the Himyarites.

27. The danger in the Nile valley was more difficult to meet. The power of Meroë, which had been generally on friendly terms with Egypt for about eighty years, was decaying, and as a first step Nero sent a mission up the river to the queen, probably with the intention of propping up the kingdom to serve as a buffer against Axum. The report brought back by the mission gave a poor account of the resources of Meroë,

however ; they found the whole of the valley between Syene and Meroë a desert ; and it was obviously necessary for the Romans to take more vigorous measures to counter the Axumites. An expedition in force to Æthiopia was accordingly planned : the emperor proposed to visit Egypt to supervise it, and, though the visit was deferred, troops began to be concentrated at Alexandria ; at least two of the legions which had served in the Parthian war under Corbulo were taken over for the Jewish war by Titus at Alexandria, and it is probable that they had been brought there for the purpose of the Æthiopian expedition.

28. The outbreak of revolt in Judæa put a stop to these preparations ; all the available troops had to be sent there as quickly as possible. The regular garrison of Egypt meanwhile was fully occupied with the task of keeping order in Alexandria : the old feud there between Greeks and Jews naturally revived on this occasion. A quarrel arose at a meeting in the amphitheatre, which developed into a general fight. The prefect, himself a Jew by birth, tried in vain to repress the leaders of the

Jews, and finally had to call up the troops from the



[63 A.D.]

FIG. 20.—Nero : Tentyra.



[66 A.D.]

FIG. 21.—Nero : Ombos.

camp and turn them into the Jewish quarter of the city, which they plundered with the help of the mob. It is said that 50,000 Jews were killed before the military were withdrawn, and the ravages of the mob went on still longer.

29. The idea of an Æthiopian expedition does not, however, seem to have been abandoned by Nero. Just before his fall he had dispatched detachments from some of the German legions to Alexandria, very probably for this purpose; and in the previous year the Alexandrian mint had struck coins with the type of a galley bringing the emperor, which shows that a
68 A.D.] visit by him was still expected. Egypt, indeed, was evidently much in his mind: when he heard of the proclamation of Galba as emperor by the troops, and of his approach, he thought of retiring to Egypt, or even of asking for the position of prefect of that country.

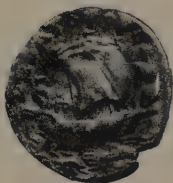


FIG. 22.—Imperial Galley: Coin of Nero. (Ashmolean Museum.)

30. All the evidence available points to a general improvement in the condition of Egypt during the first century of its government by the Romans.

It is true that Alexandria lost the presence of the royal court, but under the later Ptolemies this was a doubtful advantage: it probably cost the city as much as it brought in; and to the rest of Egypt the change of rulers was a decided gain. Agriculture and trade had been deteriorating rapidly, and the whole country was impoverished and the prey of adventurers and tax-gatherers. It took two or three years for the Egyptians to settle down under their new masters—under the circumstances, not a long time; and then, by the care of a series of able prefects, the prosperity of the land was gradually restored. The southern frontier was secured against attack by the expeditions of Petronius, and the long-standing disaffection of the Thebaid finally suppressed by Cornelius Gallus; and it is shown elsewhere how it was found

possible for the greater part of the Roman garrison to be withdrawn from the Nile valley, and concentrated at Alexandria with a substantial diminution in its total effectives. Agriculture was encouraged, especially by the improvement of irrigation and the clearing of old canals or digging of fresh ones, a work of which records exist from the prefecture of Petronius under Augustus to that of Balbillus under Nero. The extension of manufactures and development of mineral workings went forward, notably in the time of Claudius. And the growth of the trade by way of the Red Sea with the East, to which allusion has already been made, brought great wealth to the Alexandrian merchants. Within a few years after the conquest Strabo reports that whereas formerly not more than twenty ships ventured outside the Red Sea, large fleets were sailing to India and the Æthiopian coast. The increase in general prosperity may be traced in the issues of fresh coinage. Augustus had found it unnecessary to put any new silver in circulation, and, though Tiberius resumed the striking of tetradrachms, the output was not a large one. In the second year of Claudius, however, the Alexandrian mint became much more active, and its activity culminated in the twelfth year of Nero, when tetradrachms were struck in such quantity that for over a century the coins of this year formed about a tenth part of the Egyptian silver currency. The decree of the inhabitants of Busiris and the Letopolite nome in honour of Nero and his prefect Balbillus, which styles Nero the Agathos Daimon of the world, is probably more than a mere empty formula, and shows the actual feeling of the people towards the government, which had done so much to improve the condition of the country.

CHAPTER II

A CENTURY OF PROSPERITY, 68-192 A.D.

GALBA.

68-69.

Prefect.

Ti. Julius Alexander . . . See under Nero and Vespasian.

I. IF Nero had carried out the design ascribed to him and sought refuge from Galba in Egypt, it is doubtful



FIG. 23.—Galba: Thebes.

whether he would have found it there, as the prefect of Egypt, Tiberius Julius Alexander, seems already to have had some kind of an understanding with Galba: at any rate, he issued an edict in honour of the new emperor at a date when he might have heard the news of the fall of Nero and the proclamation of Galba by the Senate, but certainly before a messenger could have reached him from Galba if dis-

patched by the latter after he had been notified of the Senate's decision, which found him in Provence. But Alexander was a skilful diplomatist, who managed to keep in office through all changes: by birth an Egyptian Jew, he had obtained the Roman citizenship and become epistrategos of the Thebaid in the reign of Claudius; having been appointed prefect by Nero, he remained in

his post under Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian, the last of whom owed the diadem in some measure to his support ; and he only gave up the prefecture to take up a staff command under Titus in the Jewish war.

2. The project of an Æthiopian expedition was finally dropped : it was not one likely to appeal to the new emperor. The detachments of the German legions which had been sent to Alexandria were recalled to Rome, where they arrived in time to take part in the intrigues which led to the supplanting of Galba by Otho.

OTHO.

69 (Jan. 15-Apr. 16).

Prefect.

Ti. Julius Alexander . . . See under Nero and Vespasian.

3. The brief reign of Otho left little record in Egypt. He was recognised there without question, apparently : coins were struck in his name in considerable quantity, and his year was used for the dating of documents ; also a figure of him as Pharaoh, with the appropriate cartouches, appears on the small temple



FIG. 24.—Otho : Thebes.

of Medinet Habu at Thebes, the building of which went on through all the changes of rulers.

VITELLIUS.

69 (Apr. 16-Dec. 21; July 1, at Alexandria).

Prefect.

Ti. Julius Alexander . . . See under Nero and Vespasian.

4. There is even less trace of Vitellius; he is the first of the Roman emperors, and the only one, till nearly the end of the second century A.D., whose cartouche has not been found on an Egyptian temple; and, though a limited issue of coins was made for him at Alexandria, only one instance of his name in the dating of an Egyptian document has been published. Somewhat curiously, this instance is on an ostrakon from Elephantine, written on July 10th, nine days after Vespasian had been proclaimed emperor at Alexandria: there had not been time for the news of this event to pass from one end of Egypt to the other.

5. The proclamation of Vespasian was the work of Tiberius Julius Alexander. The two Egyptian legions, like those of the East generally, had so far taken no part in the emperor-making of the year of confusion; but the news that Vitellius had been chosen by the troops in Germany induced them to seek a candidate of their own, whose success might secure them a share of the spoils. Vespasian had already been acclaimed as emperor by the seven legions under his command in Syria a few days before Alexander administered the oath in his name to the troops at Alexandria on July 1st; but the importance of the securing of Egypt for his side was marked by the fact that this day was subsequently regarded as the beginning of his principate. He was now undisputed master of the East, and might have starved out Rome by cutting off the corn supply from Alexandria: it is indeed stated that this plan was suggested to him by Mucianus, who had been sent round to Italy with an army, and proposed to concentrate at Aquileia and await the results of this

policy ; but circumstances precipitated another form of decision.

VESPASIANUS.

69-79.

Prefects.

Ti. Julius Alexander .	(See under Nero. 69, autumn.	(Josephus, B.J. v. 1. 6, vi. 4. 3.)
Ti. Julius Lupus .	73.	(Josephus, B.J. vii. 10. 2.)
Q. Paulinus (vice-pr.) .	72/3.	(P. Oxy. 1266; Josephus, B.J. vii. 10. 4.)

6. Vespasian himself proceeded to Alexandria, receiving on the way the news of the victory of his general at Cremona ; and he prepared to try the effects of starvation on Rome ; but his speedy recognition there after the murder of Vitellius rendered it unnecessary to use this method. He was naturally welcomed in great state by the Alexandrians, who had not been favoured with the sight of a Roman emperor since the departure of Augustus after his conquest of Egypt a hundred years before this, and must have felt how greatly the position of their city was changed from that which it had held in the days when it was the residence of the kings of Egypt. So Vespasian found himself treated as a god. A blind man, and one with a withered hand, came to him to be healed, in accordance with advice which they said that they had received from Sarapis ; and the report went abroad that he succeeded in restoring them, the one by spitting upon his eyelids, the other by trampling upon him. He was also vouchsafed a vision in the temple of Sarapis, where he saw Basilides, one of the best known men in Alexandria, who was actually at that moment lying seriously ill many miles away. [69 A.D.]

7. But the Alexandrians soon found out that their new god was essentially a man of business, who was so careful of mundane affairs as to increase the taxes and to claim payment of even the smallest debt from his friends ; and they revenged themselves for their disenchantment by returning to the habits of scurrility

with which they had long been wont to amuse themselves at the expense of their rulers. A tax on salt fish won for Vespasian the name of Kybiosaktes, and his anxiety about a loan of six obols that of "the six-oboller." He is said to have countered these witticisms,



FIG. 25.—Karanis : Gateway of Vespasian in Temple of Pnepherôs and Petesouchos. (Photo by J. G. M.)

characteristically enough, by ordering a poll-tax of six obols to be laid upon the Alexandrians: this would have been more of an insult to their dignity than a serious penalty, as the rate suggested is a trifling one compared with the sums which were paid by the inhabitants of the nomes; but one of the distinguishing

privileges of the Alexandrians, as contrasted with the native Egyptians, had been their exemption from the poll-tax. Titus, however, intervened with his father on behalf of the city and secured its pardon.

8. Titus was dispatched to Judæa to take over the command of the army which was besieging Jerusalem, and was reinforced by detachments, each 1000 strong, from the two legions, the III. Cyrenaica and the XXII. Deiotariana, which formed the chief part of the garrison of Egypt. After the fall of Jerusalem these detachments were apparently accompanied back to Alexandria by Titus; and during his stay in Egypt he showed the same regard for the feelings of the people which had formerly led him to intercede with his father for the Alexandrians: he attended the consecration of a new Apis bull at Memphis, and lent to the ceremony the honour of an imperial presence by appearing in state and wearing a diadem in accordance with traditional rites. This action, however, although calculated to increase the popularity of the Roman government in Egypt by the countenance given to the national religion, was viewed with disfavour at Rome as betokening a desire to seize the crown prematurely.

9. The fall of Jerusalem was followed by disturbances in Alexandria, where some of the irreconcilable sicarii who had escaped from Judæa had taken refuge, and endeavoured to persuade the settled Jewish inhabitants to join them in making trouble for the Romans. The local leaders of the Jews, however, refused to take part in such a hopeless enterprise, and seized some of the refugees; others fled to the upper country, but were tracked down and executed. Notwithstanding the loyal attitude of the chief Jews, however, the government decided to take steps to destroy a possible centre for a Jewish nationalist movement which existed in the temple of Onias, near the head of the Delta: this had originally been built as a rival to the temple at Jerusalem, but the Romans might fear that, when the original home of worship had gone, some of its prestige might pass to its duplicate in Egypt. The temple of Onias was

accordingly sacked of its treasures, and all entry to it was forbidden.

TITUS.

79-81.

Prefect.

C. Tettius Africanus . { 80/1. (I.G.R. 1098.)
 { See under Domitian.

10. Titus, who was the first Roman emperor, with the possible exception of Nero, to show any tendency to a truly imperial policy in his dealings with the



FIG. 26.—Titus: Latopolis.

Oriental provinces, did not live long enough to exercise much influence on the destinies of the empire, and little record exists of him in Egypt. Two inscriptions of his reign are of some interest: one mentions the clearing of the Agathos Daimon river, as the Canopic

80-1 A.D.] branch of the Nile was called, showing that the maintenance of the waterways was not neglected; the other refers to the building at Ptolemais Hermiou of a temple of the gods Soteres, that is Ptolemy Soter and his wife Berenike, from which it appears that the Romans allowed the worship of the founder of the city to continue at Ptolemais.

DOMITIANUS.

81-96.

Prefects.

C. Tettius Africanus	. { See under Titus.	
	. { 82, Feb. 12.	(C.I.L. 35.)
L. Laberius Maximus	. { 83, June 9.	(C.I.L. Const.
		Vet. 15.)
Julius Ursus c. 84.	(P. Tebt. 492; cf.
		P. Amh. 68.)
C. Septimius Vegetus	. { 85, Feb. 8.	(P. Flor. 61.)
	. { 88, Feb. 25.	(I.G.R. 1287.)
M. Mettius Rufus .	. { 89, Aug. 3.	(P. Hamb. 29.)
	. { 90, Dec. 10.	(P. Hamb. 60.)

T. Petronius Secundus	{ 92, Mar. 14. (?) 93, Apr 7.	(C.I.L. 37.) (Ann. Serv. 1912, p. 88.)
M. Junius Rufus .	{ 94, Feb. 26. See under Trajan.	(P. Hamb. 29)
	<i>Dikaiodotes.</i>	
Umbrius	87, Feb.-Mar.	(P. Oxy. 237 ⁷ .)

II. The local worships of the Egyptian towns come more into evidence about this time, and it may be concluded that the old deities of the country, who had been to some extent suppressed by the policy of the first Roman emperors, were beginning to hold their heads up once more. The confiscation of temple property by Augustus and the strict regulation of the priesthood would bear more hardly on the smaller cults than on the widespread and semi-state worship of Sarapis and Isis, and it took some time to recover their position. It is true that building had gone on steadily at the great temples in several of the towns of Upper Egypt, such as Philæ, Latopolis, Thebes, and Tentyra, and there is evidence of considerable activity in the shrines of the crocodile-gods of the Fayûm; but for the first century of Roman rule most of the local native deities were rather in the background. The Romans regarded these deities with profound contempt, and officially disapproved of their worship on account of the disturbances to which it gave rise: the ordinary Roman attitude is illustrated by the words of Juvenal, who during this reign was stationed as a military officer at the camp of Syene, when describing an incident which had come to his notice. He tells how the men of the neighbouring towns of Tentyra and Ombos in the Thebaid, the first of which persecuted the crocodile, while the second worshipped it, took the opportunity of a festival to have a fight; and one of the Ombites, who was caught while his fellows were running away,



FIG. 27.-- Domitian:
Latopolis.

was killed and eaten by the Tentyrites. It is clear, however, that in spite of official disapproval the old worships kept a firm hold on the native population, and might cause more serious occurrences than that which roused the disgust of Juvenal: an instance is recorded where the Roman troops had to be called in to put a stop to the strife which had broken out between the towns of Oxyrhynchos and Kynopolis, in the Heptanomis, in consequence of insults offered by the inhabitants of either district to the god of their neighbours.

12. The presence of Titus at the consecration of an Apis bull, as already mentioned, may be taken as the first sign of a change in the official attitude towards the purely Egyptian gods; and there is further evidence of a similar kind in the reign of Domitian. Greek inscriptions are extant recording the construction of temples of Aphrodite, the accepted Greek equivalent of Hathor, at Ombos, and of Hera, who represents the local cataract-goddess Sati, at Elephantine. The preservation of inscriptions of this particular date may be due to chance; but the types of the Alexandrian coins furnish a more definite basis for placing the change of policy at this period. Previously the mint officers, in the choice of their reverse-types, had only drawn from Egyptian religion to the limited extent of such subjects as Sarapis, Isis, Canopus, Nilus, or Agathos Daimon — the more specially Alexandrian elements of the mythology. But in the eleventh year of Domitian a series of bronze coins was struck which bore representations of the local gods of the nomes, in a more or less Hellenised form, but with Egyptian attributes; and from this time onwards the native deities figure more largely on the Alexandrian coinage. It is noteworthy in the same connexion that Domitian himself erected temples of Isis and Sarapis at Rome, and thus gave official countenance to the presence in the capital of the great Alexandrian gods, whose worship had long since spread over the empire and become fashionable in Rome itself in spite of the endeavours of the authorities to suppress it.

88 A.D.]

NERVA.

96-98.

Prefect.

M. Junius Rufus. . See under Domitian and Trajan.



FIG. 28.—Nerva : Latopolis.

FIG. 29.—Trajan : Latopolis.

TRAJANUS.

98-117.

Prefects.

M. Junius Rufus.	. { See under Domitian.	
	. { 98, June 21.	(Arch. Pap. vi. 101.)
C. Pompeius Planta	. { 98, bef. Sept. 18.	(C.I.L. 14147 ² .)
	. { 99, Feb. 25.	(B.G.U. 226.)
C. Minicius Italus	. { 101/2.	(B.G.U. 908.)
	. { 103, May 19.	(Arch. Pap. vi. 103.)
C. Vibius Maximus	. { 103, Aug. 29.	(I.G.R. 1175.)
	. { 107, Mar. 26.	(P. Amh. 64.)
Ser. Sulpicius Similis	. { 107, Aug.	(P. Amh. 64.)
	. { 112, Mar. 21.	(P. Vienna ined.)
M. Rutilius Lupus	. { 114, Feb.-Mar.	(P. Vienna ined.)
	. { 117, Jan. 5.	(B.G.U. 114.)

Epistrategoi.

(Heptan.)

C. Camurius Clemens . ?

(C.I.L. xi. 5669.)

Felix Claudius Vindex . c. 114.

(P. Amh. 70; P. Ryl. 123.)

(Theb.).

Calpurnius Sabinus . 98/9.

(I.G.R. 1154.)

Pompeius Proclus . 103, Aug. 29.

(I.G.R. 1175.)

13. Fresh evidence of the improvement of the Egyptian religion in official standing is found in the

98 A.D.]



FIG. 30. — Trajan dancing: Tentyra.

first year of Trajan, when a temple was erected at Tentyra by a local lady in honour of Nea Aphrodite, a name which probably represents Plotina the wife of Trajan as identified with Hathor: such an identification of a Roman empress with a native goddess would scarcely have been possible a few years earlier. An interesting inscription of approximately the same date may also be noted, which relates to the building of a temple of Asklepios and Hygieia at Ptolemais: a pæan to the god which is included in the text follows a traditional Greek formula, and shows that Ptolemais still preserved the character which it had enjoyed from its foundation as a centre of Hellenic spirit in a foreign land.

14. A document of rather unusual type has been preserved in a papyrus which contains portions of a speech in denunciation of a certain Maximus, who was evidently a high official at Alexandria, and probably prefect: the speech was apparently delivered before the emperor. The circumstances seem to point to the person attacked being Vibius Maximus, whose period of office as prefect of Egypt was presumably followed by disgrace, since his name has been erased from three

107 A.D.]



FIG. 31 —Trajan offering to Egyptian deities : from Gebelên.
(Cairo Museum.)



FIG. 32.—Tentyra : Gateway of Trajan.

inscriptions in which it originally occurred ; and it may be assumed that his fall was brought about or aided by complaints against him made to the emperor by the provincials.

15. For some years the general condition of Egypt had been quiet, and even at Alexandria the feud between Greeks and Jews had slumbered : the drastic policy adopted towards the disaffected Jewish faction after the fall of Jerusalem, and the loyalty then shown by the leading Jewish elders to the government, had probably prevented any occasion for trouble arising. A famine, caused by the failure of the Nile flood to reach a sufficient height, was relieved by the prompt measures taken by Trajan, who sent back to Alexandria a fleet laden with Egyptian corn from the stores accumulated in the public granaries. But towards the end of the reign the most serious rising with which the Romans had had to cope since the time of the conquest of Egypt broke out.

16. Events which seem to have been a prelude to this disturbance are recounted in one of the fragments of Alexandrian " nationalist " literature which have been recovered from papyri. The story concerns embassies sent by the Greek and Jewish parties at Alexandria to Rome, which appeared before Trajan and must therefore have gone before his final departure for the East in 114 : the precise occasion for their journey is not explained, but, as the emperor accused the Greeks of outrages on the Jews, it is clear that the old anti-Semitism had reappeared. It is stated that the empress Plotina favoured the Jews, and had won her husband over to their side, and the opening passages of the debate, which are all that is preserved, show a definite intention on the part of the redactor to lend colour to this statement. But there is no clue as to the result of the proceedings.

17. Whether in consequence of Greek provocation
 114 A.D.] or not, there was in the course of the next year a rising of the Jews in Alexandria, which was put down by the government without much difficulty. But in 115, when the Egyptian legions had been depleted by

drafts sent to the Parthian war, a widespread revolt [115 A.D. took place throughout Egypt and Cyrenaica, and for a time the Jews dominated the country districts. The Greeks were massacred or driven to take refuge in Alexandria, where they secured themselves against internal disturbance by putting to death all the Jews whom they found. The Roman government found its forces so insufficient to meet the danger that it resorted to the expedient of arming the native Egyptian

population: the peasants of the nomes were conscripted to form a kind of local militia and placed under the command of the strategos, the chief civil officer of the nome. A guerrilla warfare continued up and down the country till the death of Trajan, to which there are several references in the correspondence of Apollonios, one of the strategoi engaged: there was apparently no regular campaign, and the insurgents had no

known leaders; but they had to be hunted down like bandits. The damage done, both in Alexandria and the country districts, must have been great, and the feeling aroused was such that over eighty years later the inhabitants of Oxyrhynchos still celebrated the victory over the Jews by an annual festival.

18. During the reign of Trajan there were various alterations of some moment in the military arrangements of Egypt. The chief among these was the building of a new fortress of Babylon on the bank of the Nile, to



FIG. 33.—Trajan: Philæ.

replace the old encampment on higher ground and obtain better water-supply and river-communication: this materially strengthened the Roman hold on the apex of the Delta, and guarded the head of the canal which Trajan cut from the Nile to the Red Sea. A new legion, the II. Traiana, was raised and stationed in Egypt some time before 109: this can hardly have been intended to strengthen the garrison, for which the



FIG. 34.—Roman fortress of Babylon. (*Description de l'Égypte.*)

existing two legions with the auxiliaries were sufficient, and the reason for its formation is more likely to be found in the preparations that were being made for an advance in the East: however, though the new legion sent detachments to the Parthian war, its headquarters were never moved from Egypt, and it was left in the course of a few years as the only legion in the country, while the other two, which had been there since the time of Augustus, were transferred elsewhere.

HADRIANUS.

117-138.

Prefects.

Q. Rammius Martialis	{ 117, Aug. 11-28.	(P. Oxy. 1023.)
	{ 119, Aug. 4.	(B.G.U. 140.)
T. Haterius Nepos	{ 121, Feb. 18.	(C.I.L. 39)
	{ 124, Apr. 13.	(C.P.R. 18.)
T. Flavius Titianus	{ 126, Mar. 20.	(C.I.L. 41.)
	{ 132, June 30.	(P. Hamb. 7.)
M. Petronius Mamertinus	{ 133, Nov. 11.	(P. Oxy. 237 ⁸ .)
	{ 135, Feb. 13.	(P. Oxy. 1195.)
C. Avidius Heliodorus	{ 138, Jan. 28.	(P. Oxy. 484.)
	{ See under Antoninus.	

Idiologoi.

Marcus Mæcianus	{ 120, Sept. 24.	(I.G.R. 1078.)
	{ ? 123, Feb. 9.	(P. Tebt. 296.)
Julius Pardalas	{ 122/3.	(B.G.U. 250.)
Statilius Maximus Severus	{ ? c. 136.	(I.G.R. 1226; cf. C.I.L. 46, 47.)
L. Julius Vestinus	{ under Hadrian.	(I.G.R. 136.)
	{ 135, Nov. 21.	(P. Cattaoui ^{R6} .)
Claudius Julianus	{ See under Antoninus.	

Dikaiodotes.

L. Bæbius Juncinus	{ under Hadrian.	(C.I.L. x. 6976.)
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Epistrategoi.

(Delta).

Paconius Felix	{ 133, Oct. 14.	(P. Oxy. 237.)
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(Heptan.).

Bassus	{ 128, June 2.	(P. Oxy. 237 ⁷ .)
Claudius Quintianus	{ bef. 131, Oct. 9.	(P. Oxy. 486.)
Julius Varianus	{ 131, Oct. 9.	(P. Oxy. 486.)
	{ 134/5, Dec.-Jan.	(P. Oxy. 726.)
Gellius Bassus	{ bef. 135, Feb. 8.	(B.G.U. 19.)

(Theb.).

Flavius Philoxenus	{ c. 118.	(Arch. Pap. iv. 386.)
Fidus Aquila	{ 134, May 22.	(C.I.L. 45; cf. I.G.R. 1141.)

(?)

Julius Maximianus	{ 118, June 19.	(P.S.I. 281.)
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19. When Hadrian succeeded to the imperial dignity, the Jewish revolt was practically crushed; but there was much work to be done in repairing the damage which had been wrought. In Alexandria he is reported to have restored buildings; and, though it is not possible to identify with certainty any of his restorations, it may be that one of them was the Library of Hadrian which is mentioned in a decree of the prefect dated in 127 as recently constructed to serve as a depository for archives, since record offices are favourite objects of mob-violence. This is probably the building which is represented on coins of Hadrian, where the emperor stands before Sarapis and points to a small portico inscribed with his own name: as the great Library of Alexandria was under the protection of Sarapis, it would be natural that the archives should also be put under the care of the god.

20. The Alexandrian troubles had their usual repercussion at Rome in the form of embassies from the Greek and Jewish factions to the emperor. The



FIG. 35.—Dedication of Hadrianon: Coin of Hadrian. (British Museum.)

account of the proceedings in this particular case is the most fragmentary of all the so-called Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs, and it is difficult to extract any clear idea of the situation: it is rather curious, in view of the fact that the Jews of Egypt generally had lately been in armed rebellion against Roman authority, to find Hadrian apparently taking a pro-Jewish attitude against the

Greeks; but, as the leading object of the compilers of these Acts was evidently to represent the Alexandrian Greeks as patriotic upholders of the national cause against Rome, it is quite likely that the account given by them is distorted to suit their purpose. One of the Greek envoys, Paulos, had appeared before

Trajan a few years earlier on a similar mission: on this occasion he seems to have been condemned to death.

21. A trace of the damage done in the country may be found in the order of Hadrian issued in the year [118 A.D.] following his accession providing for a general revision of the rentals payable by tenants of public and domain-land, which resulted, in several cases of which records are preserved, in very substantial reductions from the old valuation. The calling-up of the peasants to serve against the Jews had led to neglect of the cultivation of the land, which would have serious effects on its productivity, and to this rather than to actual destruction in the fighting may be ascribed the necessity for revision of the rentals.

22. Fresh disturbances arose at Alexandria about four years later on the occasion of the consecration of an Apis-bull; but, in view of the reason of their origin, it may be assumed that this time neither the Greeks nor the Jews were to blame. The

news reached Hadrian in France when on his first great tour of inspection of the empire, but was not



FIG. 36.—Hadrian: Philæ.

pressing enough to interrupt his journey. the trouble was probably easily suppressed if it only concerned the native population.

130 A.D.] 23. On his second tour Hadrian visited Egypt, enter-



FIG. 37.—Hadrian approach-
ing Alexandria.
(British Museum.)



FIG. 38.—Hadrian greeted
by Alexandria.
(British Museum.)

ing the country from Jerusalem by way of Pelusium. Alexandrian coins of the fifteenth year commemorate his welcome by the city: he probably arrived there in the early part of the autumn, to proceed up



FIG. 39.—Cartouche
of Sabina.

the Nile as soon as the flood, during which ancient tradition forbade kings to sail on the river, had gone down. By the end of November he had reached Thebes, where preparations for his arrival had been in progress as early as September 12th, and with his wife Sabina and his court visited the colossus of "Memnon" on the west bank to hear the musical sounds which proceeded from it at sunrise. This was one of the

regular items in a Roman tour of Egypt, and, after the usual fashion of tourists, members of Hadrian's suite scratched their names on the colossus as a record of the visit: one of Sabina's ladies, Balbilla, com-

posed and inscribed sets of verses in honour of the occasion.

24. The most permanent memorial of the journey of Hadrian, however, consisted in the city of Antinoopolis. The foundation of this city was prompted by the death of Antinous, the young favourite of Hadrian, during the voyage up the Nile. There was a mystery surrounding his loss, which some accounts represented as an accidental drowning in the river, while others hint at his life having been sacrificed as an offering for the safety of the emperor. Whatever the circumstances were, Hadrian honoured his memory by the creation at the place where the event occurred of a town which was designed to serve as a new centre of Greek influence in Egypt. It was laid out on a Greek plan, with regularly numbered blocks, and granted a senate and a constitution of Greek type. The general model of the constitution was taken from Naukratis, the oldest Greek foundation in Egypt, but the tribes and demes were named after the Roman imperial house: settlers seem to have been specially invited from Ptolemais, the only place in Upper Egypt where the Greek tradition was a living force; and Antinous was made into the local god. But Egyptian ideas and

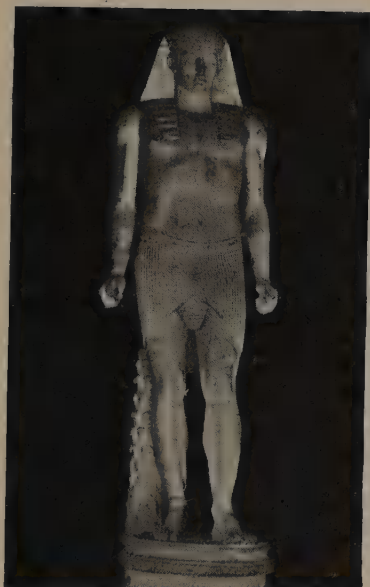


FIG. 40.—Statue of Antinous? (Vatican.)

influences were not entirely excluded: the deified Antinous was worshipped as Osirantinoos, apparently with the usual Egyptian hierarchy of priests and prophets and other temple-servants, and there are traces of his identification with Bes, the local god of the place before the foundation of the new city. It is noteworthy also that in the constitution a variation from that of Naukratis was introduced in the granting to Antinoites of rights of marriage with Egyptians,



FIG. 41.—Antinoopolis: Arch of triumph. (*Description de l'Égypte.*)

which were not possessed by the Naukratites. It would appear that the intention of Hadrian was to Hellenise the native Egyptian population by fusing them with the Greeks under predominatingly Greek influences.

137 A.D.] 25. To encourage the trade of Antinoopolis, a new road was constructed thence to Berenike on the Red Sea, furnished with guard-posts and watering-stations; this was completed shortly before the death of Hadrian, and was doubtless designed to divert the Indian trade from the old-established route which reached the Nile higher up at Koptos. With the making of this road

may perhaps be connected the events mentioned in an inscription of the reign of Hadrian found at Thebes. The Agriophagoi, one of the nomad tribes of the Eastern desert, had made a raid, but after two days' pursuit the Roman troops had cut up the raiders and recovered the plunder, with the camels which carried it.

26. The Greek interests of Hadrian left other traces in Egypt. His patronage of the Museum at Alexandria might be a doubtful benefit: during his visit he is said to have held discussions with the philosophers there; but the chief mark of his appreciation of its eminence seems to have consisted in the presentation to sinecure professorships of wandering sophists, who were apparently not required even to reside, much less to lecture, but only gave the glory of their names to the Museum in return for their salaries: such were Polemon of Laodikeia and Dionysios of Miletos. There is, however, an unmistakable artistic revival in this period on Greek lines, which is strongly marked in the Alexandrian coinage: in the ninth year of Hadrian a change in style begins, which is further developed in the next five years until the execution of the dies becomes far superior to anything that had been done at Alexandria for over two centuries. Another instance of the same tendency may be found in the series of mummy cases from several cemeteries of Roman period in Middle Egypt, notably those of Hawara and Rubaiyyat in the Fayûm: the practice of placing on the mummy case a portrait of the deceased person instead of a formal head modelled in wood or a plaster mask, which first came into use about the middle of the first century, attained its greatest vogue at this time; and these portraits, executed in wax, show distinctly the traditions of Hellenistic art.

27. Towards the end of the reign of Hadrian there occurred the last of the Jewish disturbances in Egypt, [136-7 A.D.], which was probably an echo of the final war in Judæa; but it was seemingly unimportant, and is only known from a passing reference in a papyrus.

ANTONINUS PIUS.

138-161.

Prefects.

C. Avidius Heliodorus	{ See under Hadrian.	
	{ 140, Aug. 11.	(I.G.R. 1264.)
Valerius Eudæmon	{ 141/2.	(P. Oxy. 899.)
	{ 142, July 18.	(P. Oxy. 237 ⁸ .)
L. Valerius Proculus	{ 145, Nov. 17.	(C.R. Inscr., 1905, p. 169.)
	{ 147, Apr.	(B.G.U. 376.)
M. Petronius Honoratus	{ 147, Aug. 28.	(Ann. Epigr., 1904, no. 218.)
	{ 148, Nov. 3.	(W. Chr. 212.)
L. Munatius Felix	{ 150, Apr. 17.	(P. Ryl. 75.)
	{ 151, Sept. 13.	(P. Oxy. 237 ⁸ .)
M. Sempronius Liberalis	{ 154, Aug. 29.	(B.G.U. 372.)
	{ 158/9 Dec.-Jan.	(P. Oxy. 594.)
T. Furius Victorinus	{ (under Antoninus).	(I.G.R. ii. 1103.)
L. Volusius Mæcianus	{ bef. 161 Mar. 7.	(P. Oxy. 653.)
	{ See under Aurelius.	

Idiologoi.

Claudius Julianus	{ See under Hadrian.	
	{ 140.	(Wessely Karanis, p. 56.)
Ti. Claudius Justus	{ 147, Jan. 5.	(P. Tebt. 294.)
	{ 147/8.	(P. Leipz. 121.)
Flavius Melas	{ 148/9.	(W. Chr. 77.)
	{ 150, Apr. 20.	(P. Tebt. 291.)
Claudius Agathocles	{ 154, Apr. 15.	(Wessely Karanis, p. 65.)
	{ 155/6.	(Nicole Textes ined., nos. 1, 2.)
Postumus	. . . c. 158/9.	(B.G.U. 868.)

Dioiketai.

Julianus	. . . c. 141.	(P. Cattaoui ^{V.1} .)
Mœnatides (?)	. . . 146, Aug. 1.	(P. Ryl. 84.)

Dikaiodotai.

Julius Maximianus	. . . c. 139.	(P. Cattaoui ^{V.2} .)
Claudius Neocydes	. . . bef. 146.	(P. Oxy. 1102; cf. P. Fay. 203.)
Calpurnianus	. . . 147, Apr.	(B.G.U. 378.)
Calvisius Patrophilus	. . . 147/8.	(Rev. Arch., 1894, 70.)

Epistrategoi.

(Delta).

Servilius (?)	. . . 157, May 25.	(P. Ryl. 78.)
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(Heptan.).

Julius Petronianus	. 139, July 1.	(P. Amh. 77.)
Minicius Corellianus	. { 145/6.	(P. Gen. 31.)
	. { 146/7.	(P. Oxy. 899.)
L. Trebius Proculus	. 151, Aug. 16.	(P. Neut. 8.)
C. Valerius Maximus	. 150/6.	(B.G.U. 462.)
Statilius Maximus	. 156, Dec. 14.	(P. Oxy. 487.)
Crassus	. 154/9.	(P. Tebt. 287.)
Vedius Faustus	. 158/60.	(P. Stud. Pal. xx. 9.)

(Theb.).

Septimius Macro	. 140, Aug. 11.	(I.G.R. 1264.)
Xenocrates	. bef. 159, Apr. 29.	(C.R. Inscr., 1905, p. 169.)
Ælius Faustinus	. 159, Apr. 29.	(Ib.)



FIG. 42. — Phoenix :
Coin of Antoninus
Pius. (Ashmolean
Museum.)

28. In the second year of Antoninus was celebrated the completion of a Sothic period of 1460 years, when the New Year's Day of the movable calendar had come round to the day on which the dog-star rose heliacally; and this was marked by the introduction on the Alexandrian coins of the type of the Phoenix.

29. The reign of Antoninus passed peaceably in

v—4



FIG 43.—Antoninus Pius offering to Isis and Harpocrates : from Koptos. (Cairo Museum.)

138—9 A.D.

153 A.D.] Egypt, except for an outbreak of rioting at Alexandria, in which the prefect—probably L. Munatius Felix—was killed. This disturbance is said to have brought upon the city the severe displeasure of the emperor; but he



FIG. 44.—Antoninus Pius: Tentyra.

is also reported to have visited Alexandria subsequently, and to have built a hippodrome and the gates known as those of the Sun and of the Moon, which were at the east and west ends of the main street which intersected the city.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

161-180.

LUCIUS VERUS.

161-169.

Prefects.

L. Volusius Mæcianus	. { See under Antoninus, 161, Nov. 15. (P. Gen. 35.)
M. Annius Syriacus.	. { 162, Feb. 14. (B.G.U. 762.) 163, Jan. 29. (P. Lond. 328.)
T. Flavius Titianus.	. { 164, July-Aug. (I.G.R. 1273.) 167, June 24. (P. Ryl. 120.)
M. Bassæus Rufus .	. { 168/9. (B.G.U. 903.) 169, Mar.-Apr. (P.S.I. 161.)
Fl. Sulpicius Similis.	. { 172, Nov. 8. (P. Oxy. 237 ⁸ .) 174, Oct. 26. (C.I.L. 12048.)
C. Calvisius Statianus	. { 175, May-June. (P. Oxy. 1451.) 176, Apr. 1. (B.G.U. 327.)
C. Cæcilius Salvianus (vice-pr.)	
T. Pactumeius Magnus	. { 175/6. (P. Fay. 159.) 177, Mar. 28. (B.G.U. 970.)
Sanctus after Magnus, bef. (P. Oxy. 635.) 180, Mar. 17.

Idiologos.

Ulpian Serenianus { 162, Feb. 6. (P. Tebt. 291.) 171, Jan. 14. (B.G.U. 347.)
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Dioiketai.

Vonasius Facundus 161, July 8. (P. Oxy. 1032.)
Fulvius F c. 174/5. (P.S.I. 235.)

Dikaiodotai.

Severianus (?)	. 161/9. (P. Tebt. 287.)
Gaius 167, Oct. (B.G.U. 240.)
C. Cæcilius Salvianus	. 176, Apr. 1. (B.G.U. 327.)

Epistrategoi.

(Heptan.).

Marcus us Philotas	. 161, Mar. 7-Aug. 28. (B.G.U. 195.)
Vedius Faustus 162, Apr. 15. (P. Oxy. 1032.)
Flavius Gratillianus	. { 164, May 29. (B.G.U. 1046 ² .) 165, Dec. 1. (B.G.U. 1046 ³ .)
Luceius Ofellianus { 166, May 10. (I.G.R. 1112.) 166, Aug. 23. (B.G.U. 1046 ³ .)
Æmilius Capitolinus	. aft. 169, Nov. 26. (B.G.U. 168.)

(Theb.).

Terentius Alexander 164, July-Aug. (I.G.R. 1273.)
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30. The unusual event of a revolt among the native
 172 A.D.] Egyptians, as distinct from the Alexandrians, occurred
 in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The disturbance
 arose in the district of the marshes of the Delta known
 as the Bucolia, where a priest named Isidoros put
 himself at the head of the peasantry and gathered a
 considerable force. It is reported that he disguised
 himself and his followers in the dress of women and so
 tricked the centurion in charge of the guard of the
 district, whom they approached in the pretence of
 bringing payment of taxes: when they had killed him,
 they sacrificed one of his companions and ate his flesh



FIG. 45.—Aurelius:
 Latopolis.

after swearing an oath of fidelity
 over it. The Roman troops were
 defeated in the field, and Alexan-
 dria itself almost fell into the
 hands of the insurgents. The
 moment was favourable for the
 rising, as the one legion of the
 garrison, the II. Traiana, had
 been sent away to take part in
 the war with the Marcomanni on
 the Danube; and it was necessary
 to summon reinforcements from
 Syria. These were commanded
 by Avidius Cassius, the governor
 of Syria, who did not venture to

meet the fanatical rebels in battle, but adopted the plan
 of sowing dissensions in their ranks: thus he was able
 to break up their force and crush the separate bands in
 detail.

31. Very shortly after the suppression of this rebellion
 175 A.D.] came a military revolt, at the head of which was the
 victorious general Avidius Cassius. He was said to
 have been intriguing with the empress Faustina, in the
 hope of seizing the imperial power after the death of
 Aurelius; but a false report that this event had occurred
 led him to allow his troops to proclaim him emperor.
 This probably took place in the spring, and he was
 rapidly recognised throughout the East; as early as

May 3rd a dating in his name occurs in an Egyptian papyrus, and on June 19th he was the accepted emperor at Syene: he had been in command in Syria for at least six years, and had previous connexions with Egypt, not only as the suppressor of the Bucolic revolt, but as the son of a former prefect, Avidius Heliodorus. But his rebellion collapsed as speedily as it arose: while Aurelius was preparing for war, Cassius was killed by a centurion after little more than three months' enjoyment of the imperial title, and the troops returned to their allegiance: Mæcianus, who was probably his son, and who had been placed by him in charge of Alexandria, was put to death by the soldiers there.

32. Aurelius visited the Eastern provinces in the following year, and treated them with clemency after [176 A.D. their rebellion. The proceedings on both sides through-



FIG. 46.—Antaiopolis: Temple, restored under Aurelius.
(Description de l'Égypte.)

out had indeed been marked by an unusual absence of animosity; and it is noteworthy that Cassius, unlike most usurpers, does not appear to have exercised the

imperial prerogative of striking coins. In spite of the fact that Alexandria had supported Cassius with enthusiasm, the city was pardoned, and even the individuals most deeply implicated, such as the family of Cassius and the prefect of Egypt, Gaius Calvisius Statianus, escaped with fines and banishment. A record of the emperor's visit to Alexandria, where he is said to have borne himself as a philosopher, is preserved in a dedication by the legion of the garrison.

COMMODUS.

180-192.

Prefects.

Flavius Crispus . . .	bef. 181/2, ? under Aurelius.	(B.G.U. 12.)
Veturius Macrinus . .	{ 181, July 4.	(I.G.R. 1102.)
	{ 183, Apr.-May.	(B.G.U. 847.)
T. Longæus Rufus . .	{ 185, May-June.	(P. Amh. 107.)
	{ 185, Sept.-Nov.	(B.G.U. 807.)
Pomponius Faustinus .	{ 185/6, Dec.-Jan.	(P. Oxy. 237 ⁵ .)
	{ 187, Sept. 10.	(B.G.U. 842 ³ .)
M. Aur. Papirius Dionysius	187/8.	(P. Oxy. 1110.)
Tineius Demetrius . .	190, Aug.	(P. Tebt. 336.)
Claudius Lucilianus . .	190, Sept. 25.	(P. Bas. 2.)
Larcus Memor . . .	192, Apr. 8.	(P. Ryl. 77.)
Polliænus Flavianus . .	under Commodus.	(I.G.R. 1050.)
Appius Sabinus . . .	? under Commodus.	(Ann. Epigr., 1912, 136.)

Idiologos.

Salvius Julianus . . .	185, Sept. 18.	(B.G.U. 82.)
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Dioiketai.

Ventidius Rufinus . .	{ 182/3.	(Arch. Pap. iv. 124.)
	{ 184, Feb. 24.	(P. Oxy. 513.)
Plautius Italus (?) . .	184, Dec. 16.	(P. Oxy. 474.)

Epistrategoi.

(Delta).

Aurelius Jason . . .	181, July 4.	(I.G.R. 1102.)
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(Heptan.).

T. Claudius Xenophon .	under Commodus.	(P. Oxy. 718.)
Vettius Turbo . . .	182, July 26.	(Kühn, Anti-noop., p. 143.)
Instantius Moderatus .	191, July-Aug.	(P. Tebt. 328.)
Antonius Moschianus .	aft. 191, July-Aug.	(P. Tebt. 328.)
Ulpius		

33. The clemency of Aurelius did not long avail the family of Cassius, as one of the first acts of Commodus on his accession was to put them all to death ; and with this may perhaps be connected the latest of the "Acts of the Martyrs" of Alexandria, since one of the figures in the story is called Heliodoros, and this was the name of one of the sons of Cassius. The scene is at Rome, where Appianos, a gymnasiarch of Alexandria, is on his trial before the emperor, and has been condemned to death : Heliodoros appears as one of his sympathisers. The cause of accusation against Appianos is not stated : it is not probable that it was connected with anti - Semitic disturbances, as the Jews had now ceased to trouble at Alexandria ; although Appianos refers to his predecessors in martyrdom, Theon, Isidoros, and Lampon, who had probably all been condemned for raising attacks on the Jews, his attitude is distinctly anti-Roman, and the former patriots are meant to appear in the same light. It may be assumed as the most likely explanation that Commodus counted the Alexandrians among the supporters of Cassius on whom he wished to take vengeance : he had visited Alexandria with his father after the rebellion, and so must have known the side which the inhabitants had taken ; and he would naturally summon the leading citizens to Rome to give an account of their actions.



FIG. 47.—Commodus :
Latopolis.

34. During the greater part of the second century of Roman rule, the prosperity of Egypt appears to have

been fairly well maintained. The broader views of imperialism which Nero was the first among the Roman emperors to adopt encouraged the development of the provinces ; and a similarly enlightened policy was pursued by his successors. The trade with the East continued to expand : in the reign of Antoninus or Aurelius, Roman merchants had got as far as China ; and the voyage to India had been shortened by the discovery of the monsoon, and the consequent abandonment of the coast route for the direct passage across the open sea from the Arabian gulf to India. The extent of the traffic with the East is shown by Pliny, who estimated the annual value of the imports from Arabia and India at one hundred millions of sesterces about the beginning of the period under review ; and there seems to be substantial ground for the theory that the trade was gradually changed from an import of articles of luxury from Southern India, paid for in gold, to one of cotton and raw materials from Northern India, paid for in goods. It was to catch some part of this trade that Hadrian built his new road from Berenike to Antinoopolis, as an alternative to the old routes from Berenike and Myos Hormos on the Red Sea to Koptos in the Nile valley. The trade was now largely in Alexandrian hands, and the importance of that city as a mercantile exchange was the greatest in the world. The issue of coinage at Alexandria probably reflects fairly closely the commercial condition of the country ; and it shows a steady output, with only occasional breaks, until the year 170. The great mintage under Nero seems to have stabilised the currency, and the double reckoning in silver and bronze, which had been a marked feature under the later Ptolemies, practically disappears : the debased silver tetradrachm having been established as the unit, a bronze currency related to it and to the Roman coinage was developed under the Flavian emperors and reached its full importance under Trajan.

35. But signs that the prosperity of the country was on the wane begin to be evident in the middle of this

period : the drain of capital, in the form of the tribute of corn, to Rome was telling. Marked evidence of the decline is to be found in the extension of the liturgic system in local offices : it was found impossible to secure voluntary candidates to undertake the burden attached to posts of administration, and by the beginning of the second century A.D. compulsory appointment had become the rule. Then instances occur with increasing frequency in which men nominated to such posts fled from home to escape the burden, and edicts were issued which show the wide spread of this practice, in which the fugitives are ordered to return to their homes and offered remission of outstanding obligations if they obeyed. A serious blow to the agriculture of Egypt was dealt, as has been seen already, by the Jewish revolt in the time of Trajan, which withdrew the cultivators from the land over a large part of the country for some time ; and the results of the Bucolic war in the Delta were possibly even more fatal, if to this cause may be ascribed the general depopulation of the villages shown by a series of returns from Mendes of about this date. But this decay is noticeable in other parts of the country, such as the Fayûm, at the same or an even earlier date, and was possibly due to such more general causes as over-taxation and non-maintenance of dykes and canals. The fact that in the reign of Commodus the corn-supply from Egypt to Rome had to be supplemented by the institution of an African corn-fleet points in the same direction. There was also a drop in the standard of the silver coinage, and the issue of bronze was almost discontinued, in the same reign. The mournful reference, in a letter of about this period, to the hardness of the times, probably represents accurately enough the general feeling of the Egyptian farmers.

CHAPTER III

THE DECAY OF THE PROVINCIAL SYSTEM, 193-284 A.D.

PERTINAX.

193.

Prefect.

Mantennius Sabinus . { 193, Mar. 6. (B.G.U. 646.)
 { See under Severus.

193 A.D.] I. DOCUMENTS dated in the short reign of Pertinax furnish an illustration of the length of time which it took for news to travel from Rome to Egypt. He was proclaimed emperor at Rome on January 1st; and on March 6th, Sabinus, the prefect of Egypt, issued orders for a fifteen days' festival in celebration of his accession. It may be assumed that the prefect would naturally have taken this step immediately upon receiving official information of the events at Rome; and, although the wording of the orders shows that Sabinus was away from Alexandria when they were issued, it is probable that he was no farther up the Nile than Memphis, where the prefect usually held his assize in March. A similarly long interval occurred before the death of Pertinax became known in the interior of Egypt: he was murdered at Rome on March 28th, but on May 19th his name was still used for dating a document in the Fayûm.

DIDIUS JULIANUS.

193.

PESCENNIUS NIGER.

193.

Prefect.

L. Mantennius Sabinus . See under Pertinax and Severus.

2. The successor of Pertinax at Rome, Didius Julianus, never seems to have been recognised as emperor in Egypt: no coins were struck for him at the mint of Alexandria, which had made issues in the name of Pertinax and also in those of his wife and son; and his reign has not been found in the dating of any Egyptian document. The Egyptians had their own candidate for the throne in the person of Pescennius Niger, the Roman general in Syria, and his name occurs in a dating of June 14th, only a few days after the latest [193 A.D.] dating by Pertinax. He had commanded the troops at Syene, who guarded the frontier against the nomad tribes of the desert, and had won popularity among the Egyptian people by reason of the firm hand with which he kept his men in order, and prevented them from plundering, according to the usual custom, those whom they were sent to protect; so, when he was declared emperor by the Syrian legions, the Egyptian army and people joined his side, and coins were struck in his name as the recognised ruler of Egypt.

SEVERUS.

193-211.

Prefects.

L. Mantennius Sabinus	{ See under Pertinax. 194, Apr. 21.	(I.G.R. 1062.)
M. Ulpius Primianus	{ 194/5. 196, Feb. 23.	(I.G.R. 1290 ^E .) (C.I.L. 51.)
Q. Æmilius Saturninus	{ 197, July 11. 198, Sept. 23.	(B.G.U. 15 ² .) (Bodleian Q. Record, ii. 259.)
Q. Mæcius Lætus	{ 199/200. 203, Feb. 26.	(P. Oxy. 705.) (P.S.I. 199.)
Subatianus Aquila	{ 202/3. 210, July 23.	(Euseb., H.E. vi. 3. 3.) (P. Flor. 6.)
Magnius Felix Crescentillanus	? under Severus.	(P. Oxy. 1185.)

Idiologoi.

Claudius Apollonius.	. 194, Aug. 27.	(W. Chr. 52.)
T. Aurelius Calpurnianus	? c. 200.	(I.G.R. 1107.)
Apollonides		

Dioiketai.

Suillius Saturninus	. 194.	(Arch. Pap. iv. 124.)
Flavius Studiosus	. 200, Aug. 29.	(P. Oxy. 899.)
Calventius Adjutor	. 210, July 23.	(P. Flor. 6.)

Epistrategoi.

(Heptan.).

Julius Quintianus	. 194, July 26.	(B.G.U. 15 ¹ .)
Calpurnius Concessus	. 196, Aug. 13.	(B.G.U. 1022.)
Arrius Victor	. 199/200.	(I.G.R. 1113.)
Claudius Alexander.	. 203, Feb. 26.	(P.S.I. 199.)

3. In the struggle between Severus and Niger, the decreasing importance of the Egyptian granaries became evident. Severus, as soon as he was master of Rome, hastened to secure Africa, lest Niger should occupy it from Egypt and so, by holding both the sources of corn-supply, be able to starve Rome into submission: in the days of



FIG. 48.—Severus: Latopolis.



FIG. 49.—Severus and Julia: Latopolis.

Vespasian it had been thought possible to effect this end by the possession of Egypt alone. It is probable that Severus occupied Egypt from Africa before the final battle with Niger at Kyzikos: the earliest dating by his name is on November 26th at

Oxyrhynchos; though a few days later, on December 5th, there is a dating by Niger in the Fayûm, this may be due merely to the delay in the filtering of information as to events through the villages. But, as the same prefect continued in office under Pertinax, Niger, and Severus, it is evident that he at any rate took no decided side in the contest between the two rivals for empire; and it is very likely that the Egyptians generally were equally prepared to accept whichever of them proved stronger.

4. In his eighth year of rule Severus visited Egypt, [199-200 A D] and made important changes in the government of the country.

His tour seems to have been closely modelled on that of Hadrian: he entered the province from Palestine by way of Pelusium, spent some time at Alexandria, and then went up the Nile to Thebes. This was, it is true, a normal route for Roman tourists; but a more definite echo of the visit of Hadrian is to be found in the coins struck to commemorate the coming of Severus to Alexandria, which repeat, with only a change in the imperial



FIG. 50.—Severus greeted by Alexandria: Coin of Severus. (Ashmolean Museum.)

portrait, the type used for Hadrian. Like Hadrian, he did much building: there are records of his erection of a temple of Kybele, thermæ, a gymnasium, and a Pantheon at Alexandria: like Hadrian also, he visited the vocal statue of Memnon, with unfortunate results to the statue, as it is believed to have been Severus who reconstructed the upper part of the colossus and thereby destroyed the surface from which sounds had issued at sunrise.

5. In administrative matters, however, he went beyond his exemplar. Hadrian had founded Antinopolis and given it a senate: Severus granted senates to Alexandria and possibly all the nome-capitals. The general effects of this measure are discussed elsewhere: it was probably part of a considered policy which aimed

on the one hand at a strengthening of Roman influence under Greek forms in the towns, and on the other at an improvement in the machinery for tax-collection. At the same time he is said to have made many changes in the laws; and this is borne out by a number of rescripts which have been preserved, all of which were issued at Alexandria and are dated from December 199 to April 200.

6. It does not appear that he took any definitely military measures during his visit: he was prevented from going to the Cataract and the Æthiopian frontier by illness; and though there is a building of his reign at Premis in Nubia, some way beyond the farthest post usually garrisoned by the Romans at Hierasykaminos, which might suggest some intention of a move southward, the meaning of this is quite uncertain.

206 A.D.] 7. The civil wars in the empire had left a legacy of trouble in the disbanded troops and dispossessed men who wandered about the provinces and found a living by brigandage. These bandits were to be found in most of the countries round the Mediterranean, and their existence in Egypt is shown by an edict of the prefect Subatianus Aquila aimed at their suppression: a similar edict was issued by the next prefect, Bæbius Juncinus, laying the strictest injunctions on the local officials to search out robbers and to deal with those who sheltered them.

CARACALLA.

211-217.

GETA.

211-212.

Prefects.

L. Bæbius Aurelius Juncinus . . .	213, Jan 29.	(P. Giess. 40 ² .)
Septimius Heraclitus . . .	215, Mar. 16.	(B.G.U. 362 ⁷ .)
Aurelius Antinous (vice-pr.) . . .	215/6 or before.	(P. Rein. 49.)
Valerius Datus . . .	{ 216, Mar. 12.	(P. Lond. 935.)
	{ 217, Mar. 16.	(P. Lond. 936.)

Epistrategoi.

(Heptan.).

Colonianus	212, July 29.	(P. Oxy. 70.)
Aurelius Herapion	212/3.	(P. Oxy. 70.)
Aurelius Serenus (deputy)	217 (?).	(P. Oxy. 1202.)

FIG. 51.—Caracalla and Geta :
Latopolis.

8. The status of the Hellenised inhabitants of Egypt, which had been considerably modified by the grant of senates under Severus, was further altered by the edict of [212 A.D.] Caracalla extending the Roman citizenship throughout the empire. The

native Egyptians, who ranked as *dediticii*, were excluded from the benefits of the edict ; but a very large addition

FIG. 52.—Geta :
Latopolis.

to the roll of citizens was nevertheless made in the population of the nome-capitals.

9. Caracalla, who had accompanied his father to Egypt in 200, visited Alexandria again fifteen years [215 A.D.] later ; but the results were less pleasant to the inhabitants of the city on this occasion. They had exercised their talents for satire at his expense, scoffing at him for his mimicry of heroes like Alexander and



FIG. 53.—Caracalla :
Latopolis.



FIG. 54.—Statue, face recut to
likeness of Caracalla. (Cairo
Museum.)

Achilles, and for the murder of his brother Geta ; and he determined to take vengeance on them. He put to death the leading men, who had gone out to receive him in the suburbs, and then turned his troops loose on the city, which they sacked, murdering a great number of the people in a massacre which lasted for some days. All Egyptians from the country districts were expelled, with the exception of certain specified classes of traders or transporters of produce and of visitors who came for definite business or study. Caracalla also abolished the public shows and the *syssitia*, and ordered guard-posts to be established in Alexandria, to keep the populace overawed. Severe as these measures were, it is not improbable that there was much justification for them in the circumstances of the moment : the edict of expulsion suggests that the robbers from the country, who had given so much trouble in the previous reign, may have been transferring their operations to Alexandria ; and if that normally turbulent city had its capacities for disturbances increased by the influx of a crowd of scoundrels from outside, wholesale executions may well have been necessary in the interests of public security.

MACRINUS.

217-218.

Prefect.

Julius Basilianus . . . 217/8. (Ann. Epigr. 1905, no. 54.)

Dioiketes (?).

Marius Secundus . . . 218, Apr. 18. (P.S.I. 249.)

10. Fresh disturbances broke out at Alexandria during the contest between Macrinus and Elagabalus. Macrinus had made Julius Basilianus prefect of Egypt, and had sent with him as second in command a senator, Marius Secundus, thus breaking for the first time the rule laid down by Augustus which forbade the appointment of senators to administrative posts in Egypt. When the news of the proclamation of Elagabalus as emperor by the troops in Syria was brought to Alexandria, Basilianus put the couriers to death; but the soldiery and populace were in a state of ferment, which ended in a general battle after the further tidings came that Macrinus had been defeated. Probably the Roman garrison were for Elagabalus and supported the choice of their comrades in Syria, as they had done on previous occasions in the cases of Vespasian and Pescennius Niger; while the Alexandrians, since the new claimant to the throne professed himself to be the son of their old enemy Caracalla, would naturally be inclined to oppose him. In the battle, the partisans of Elagabalus got the better: Marius Secundus was killed, and Basilianus fled to Italy.

ELAGABALUS.

218-222.

| Prefects.

Geminus Chrestus . . .	{ 219, Aug. 13.	(I.G.R. 1179.)
	{ 220/1.	(P. Grenf. i. 49.)
L. Domitius Honoratus . .	222, Jan. 6.	(P. Oxy. 62 ^R .)

Dioiketes.

Septimius Arrianus . . . 221, Nov. 18. (P. Oxy. 61.)

Epistrategos.

(Heptan.).

Aurelius Sabinianus. . . 220/1. (P. Grenf. i. 49.)

SEVERUS ALEXANDER.

222-235.

Prefects.

M. Ædinius Julianus . . . 223. (P. Oxy. 35^R.)
 Epagathus aft. 228. (Dio. C. lxxx. 2.4.)
 Masculinus 231, May 12. (P. Lond. 946.)
 Mevius Honoratianus . . . { 231/2, Dec.-Jan. (I.G.R. 1143.)
 { See under Maximinus.

Epistrategoi.

(Heptan.).

Julius Sopatrus bef. 226, Mar. 6. (P. Oxy. 1459.)
 Aurelius Hierakion aft. 226. (P. Flor. 58.)
 D—— Balbinus 228/9. (B.G.U. 659.)
 Severus Vibius Aurelianus . . . 231/2, Dec.-Jan. (I.G.R. 1143.)

II. A justification for the action of Macrinus in disregarding the rule of Augustus against the appointment of senators to office in Egypt may be found in the greatly diminished importance of that country, which was, as has already been pointed out, no longer the sole or even the chief granary of Rome, and was reduced to poverty alike in wealth and spirit. Thus it was no longer to be apprehended that a man of influence would find it easier to gather the materials for a rebellion in Egypt than elsewhere. A still more striking proof of this decline in importance is preserved in the reign of Severus Alexander, who, when one Epagathus had led a mutiny of the prætorian guards in Rome, dispatched him to Egypt as prefect, as though this were a place where he would be removed from any chance of making mischief. It appeared later that the seeming honour was merely a step to removing Epagathus from the company and the

memory of the prætorians, whom the emperor feared to offend, and then quietly having him executed.

12. It is possible that the emperor visited Egypt during his reign, as it is reported that at a festival the Alexandrians insulted him by calling him a Syrian high-priest. There may be a reference to this visit also in an Alexandrian coin - type which shows the empress-mother Julia Mamæa standing and holding in her hand the model of a gateway, which would probably be intended to record the building of such a gateway at Alexandria at her instance.



[228-9 A.D.]

FIG. 55.—Julia Mamæa holding model of gateway: Coin of Severus Alexander. (Ashmolean Museum.)

13. The Egyptian troops were somewhat later called upon to furnish drafts for the Persian war; but they seem to have been of poor quality. Desertions were numerous during the concentration, and there was an attempt at mutiny. For over a century before this time the garrison of Egypt had been mainly recruited in the country, largely from the children of the camp; and the climate of Egypt has never been favourable to the development of a martial spirit: also the soldiers had no real training in war nor any definite occupation beyond police-duties; so that it is not surprising that they proved of little use when called up for active service. [232 A.D.]

MAXIMINUS.

235-238.

Prefect.

Mevius Honoratianus . { See under Alexander.
235. (Rev. Epigr. 1913,
p 164.)

GORDIANUS I.

GORDIANUS II.

238.

BALBINUS

PUPIENUS.

238.

GORDIANUS III.

238-244.

Prefects.

Annianus	241.	(P. Strasb. 41.)
C. Julius Priscus (vice-pr.)	before Philip.	(C.I.L. vi. 1638.)
Aurelius Basileus	{ 242, Aug. 18.	(P. Oxy. 1277.)
	{ See under Philip.	

Epistrategos.

(Heptan.).

Claudius Cleogenes	241, Apr. 23.	(P. Leipz. 32.)
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14. A province which had reached such a low degree of importance as that shown by the foregoing events counted for little in the making and unmaking of emperors which followed the death of Severus Alexander. The Egyptians seem to have acquiesced in the decisions of fate and the Western provinces; and the officials at Alexandria also recognised without question any claimant who was set up. When the two Gordiani were proclaimed as emperors, coins were struck for them by the Alexandrian mint, though their names do not occur in any Egyptian datings, and there is nothing to show whether after their fall Maximinus was again regarded as the actual ruler. There is more evidence as to the recognition of Balbinus and Pupienus: besides coins in their names, there are a few datings by them in papyri and ostraka, which go on till their second year of the Egyptian style, at least two months after their deaths, at Oxyrhynchos and in the Fayûm; though, as no coins are known of their second year, and before the end of the year coins were being struck for Gordian III. as emperor, it would appear that news of the changes at Rome had reached Alexandria some time before it passed up the valley.

PHILIPPUS I.

244-249.

Prefects.

Aurelius Basileus	· { See under Gordian III.	
	· { 245, Apr.-May.	(P. Flor. 4.)
Claudius Valerius Firmus	· { 245, May 21.	(P. Oxy. 1466.)
	· { 247, Aug.-Sept.	(P. Oxy. 1418.)
Aurelius Appius Sabinus	· { 249, Sept. 14.	(S. B. 1010.)
	· { See under Decius.	

Idiologos.

Myron (vice)	· · · under Philip.	(I. G. R. 1356.)
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Dioiketes.

Velleius Maximus	· · 248, Aug. 24.	(B. G. U. 82.)
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Epistrategos.

(Heptan.).

Antonius Alexander	· { 244, Nov. 26.	(P. Oxy. 1119.)
	· { 245, Apr. 8.	(Ib.)

15. The only way in which Egypt exercised any influence on the course of imperial policy about this time was through its poverty: the inability of the central government to collect the revenue in the Eastern provinces compelled Philip to make peace with the Goths on the Danube.

DECIUS.

249-251.

Prefect.

Aurelius Appius Sabinus	· { See under Philip.	
	· { 250, July 17.	(C. P. R. 20.)

16. A new disturbing element was beginning to make its presence felt in Egyptian politics: the growing strength of Christianity obliged the rulers of the country to recognise its existence. There had

indeed been occasional attempts, of a more or less local character, made during the second century with a view of preventing the spread of the new religion; but the first general attack upon it in Egypt took place in the reign of Decius, when a systematic test was ordained by which every person was compelled to do sacrifice and libation and to taste the offerings, on pain of denunciation and death if they refused: those who fulfilled the test received a certificate from the commissioners appointed to conduct the inquiry, witnessing to the due performance; and of these certificates numerous examples have been preserved.



FIG. 56.—Decius: Latopolis.

17. During this reign the Blemyes of Nubia raided the Southern frontier, this being the first attack they had made since the time of Augustus. The civil government, acting from Elephantine, had still been in control of the Dodekaschoinos in the reign of Philip, as is shown by an inscription from Talmis in which the strategos of the Ombite nome and Elephantine directs the expulsion of all swine from the sacred village; but this is the last record of its kind in the district. The movement of the Blemyes was perhaps connected with the expansion of the kingdom of Axum, which had established itself in the Nile valley at the expense of Meroë, and was pressing on the Nubian tribes from above and driving them on to the Roman frontier.

TREBONIANUS GALLUS.

251-253.

Idiologos.

Julius Ruf(inus ?)

251/2.

(P. Tebt. 608.)

ÆMILIANUS.

253.

18. The reigns of the two successors of Decius are unmarked by any events of importance in Egypt, and are only of interest as illustrating the detachment of the province from the outside world and the slowness with which news travelled through it. Gallus was probably recognised as Emperor in June, but there is no trace of his having been heard of in Egypt before the end of the year on August 29th: there are datings of his second year, but no coins, this being the only year between 216 and 296 which saw no issue from the mint of Alexandria; while in his third year, of which there are coins, his name continues to be used in datings till August 22nd, 253, probably some weeks after his death in May or June. Æmilian was recognised at Rome as emperor very shortly after the death of Gallus and certainly some time before August 28th, 253, but Alexandria did not apparently receive the news till after the end of the year, as his coins of that mint and the only extant papyrus fully dated by him are of his second year; and the latter was probably written after his fall.

VALERIANUS.

252-260.

GALLIENUS.

253-268.

[MACRIANUS AND QUIETUS.]

[260-261.]

Prefects.

L. Mussius Æmilianus (vice-pr.)	{ 257, Aug.	(Euseb. H.E. vii. 11. 9.)
	{ 258, Sept. 24.	(P. Oxy. 1201.)
L. Mussius Æmilianus (pref.)	{ 258, Sept. 24.	(P. Oxy. 1201.)
	{ 259, Sept.-Oct.	(P. Ryl. 110.)
Aurelius Theodotus . . .	262, Aug. 14.	(P. Strasb. 5.)
Claudius Firmus . . .	c. 264/5.	(P. Oxy. 1194.)
Cussonius . . .	266, Mar. 28.	(P. Ryl. 165.)
Juvenius Genialis . . .	267, July 15.	(C. P. Herm. 119 ^v .)

Idiologos.

Gessius Serenus . . . 259, Sept.—Oct. (P. Ryl. 110.)

Epistrategoi.

(Heptan.).

Metrodorus (deputy) . . . c. 260/1. (P. Oxy. 1502.)
 Aurelius Tiro . . . c. 266. (C. P. Herm. 57.)

19. Egypt remained in a backwater of Roman history during the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus. But

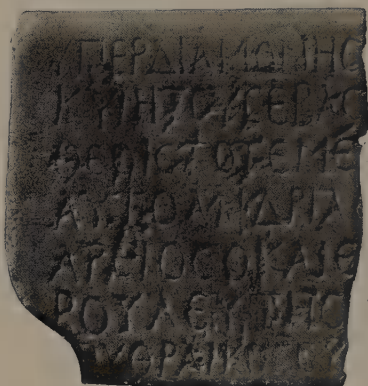


FIG. 57.—Inscription of Quietus: from Koptos.
 (Petrie Collection.)

when Valerian had been taken prisoner by the Persians and revolutions against the central authority occurred in nearly every quarter of the empire, Egypt also fell away; and the tangled story of events in the country may perhaps be interpreted by the analogy of what is known to have taken place in other provinces. There is

documentary evidence that Macrianus and Quietus, who had been proclaimed as emperors in Syria by their father, probably in the summer of 260, were recognised at Oxyrhynchos by September 29th, though, as this was counted as their first year, they were not regarded as having reigned in Egypt for more than a month at that date. Nearly two months later, about November 24th, an order issued at the same town by the strategos suggests that some doubt was still felt there as to the legitimacy of their title, since the local money-changers were accused of having refused to accept the coinage of the new emperors. On the

260 A.D.]

following February 15th, a distribution of corn in their names was arranged at Hermopolis. But nine days later an ostrakon was dated at Thebes in the names of Valerian and Gallienus, and before the end of the Egyptian year the mint of Alexandria had resumed the issue of coins for Gallienus. As there is no reliable instance of a dating in the second year of Macrianus and Quietus, it would appear that Egypt had been recovered for Rome in the early spring, some months before the death of the usurpers in Illyricum and at Emesa.

20. At a somewhat later date, Æmilianus the prefect of Egypt is said to have been compelled by the Alexandrian mob to accept the position of emperor. For a few months he ruled with vigour: he held the Thebaid and drove back the barbarian tribes who were harassing Egypt, and was preparing an expedition, probably aimed against the Axumites, when Theodotus arrived to support the cause of Gallienus in Alexandria. During the contest which followed, the city was laid waste by the opposing parties, who established themselves in different quarters and made the intervening space a desert. Finally Theodotus got the victory, captured Æmilianus, and sent him as a prisoner to Rome, while Alexandria was left in ruins and infected with disease. So great was the mortality caused by these various troubles, that it is reported that the numbers of the inhabitants between the ages of fourteen and eighty were only equal to those of between forty and seventy in former times: that is to say, that the population had been reduced to barely a third of what it had previously been.

21. Æmilianus, however, does not appear to have claimed imperial power for himself: no coins were struck in his name, nor were any documents dated by him; so that it seems fairly certain that his rule over Egypt was only in the capacity of prefect. His relation to Macrianus and Quietus during the period of their recognition in Egypt remains obscure: it is possible that he continued to act in the name of Gallienus throughout, and held the Thebaid for him after the

Syrian troops had won Middle and Lower Egypt over to their nominees, as no records of Macrianus or Quietus have been found farther south than Koptos; but, after he had re-established the position for the central authority, he was superseded and driven to revolt.

CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS.

268-270.

22. The next disturbance in Egypt was due to the growing power of Zenobia, the widow of Odenathus prince of Palmyra. The command of the Eastern provinces had been conferred on Odenathus by Gallienus, but it is not clear whether this included any authority in Egypt; in any case, there is no record in local documents there concerning Odenathus. But in 269 A.D.] the second year of Claudius an Egyptian named Timagenes invited the Palmyrenes to enter the country; and in response to the invitation Zenobia sent an army of seventy thousand men under Zabdas. The Romans, however, though inferior in numbers, made a dogged resistance: they were at first defeated; but, when the main Palmyrene army withdrew, leaving a small garrison of some five thousand men, these were expelled by the Roman general Probus. Zabdas and Timagenes thereupon returned, and were defeated by Probus; but when he attempted to cut their communications with Syria by seizing a position near Babylon, the superior local knowledge of Timagenes secured the victory for the Palmyrenes, and Probus committed suicide.

23. But though the Queen of Palmyra could have effectively controlled Egypt from this time, and was prepared to fight a rival governor, she still recognised the suzerainty of the Roman emperor, and all official acts and datings ran in the name of Claudius. It is not indeed clear whether Probus, the Roman leader in the fighting, was a more definitely accredited representative of the emperor than was Zabdas as the agent of Zenobia; and it is probable that the first Palmyrene moves in the struggle were not designed to force a breach with Rome.

QUINTILLUS.

270.

AURELIANUS.

270-275.

Dioiketai.

Andromachus . . .	bef. 272, Mar. 4.	(P. Oxy. 1264.)
Julius Monimus . . .	275, Aug. 23.	(P. Oxy. 1633.)

24. After the two months' reign of Quintillus, which is only recorded in Egypt by a few coins, the new emperor Aurelian found it necessary to take other measures for dealing with the problem of the Palmyrenes, who had attained a position of virtual independence. His first step was to give official recognition to Vaballathus (Wahballath), the son of Zenobia, as joint ruler of the East; and in the first and second Egyptian years of Aurelian coins were struck at the Alexandrian mint with the head of Aurelian on the obverse and that of Vaballathus on the reverse. The dating on the reverse side of these coins gives the years of Vaballathus as the fourth and fifth, which seems to imply a retrospective recognition of his status as commencing with the beginning of the reign of Claudius. But before a year had passed the association ended, and Vaballathus declared himself independent, with the immediate result of open war between Rome and Palmyra. [270 A.D.]

25. The struggle, so far as Egypt was concerned, was a brief one. It was probably about the end of February when Vaballathus took the decisive step, and by August the Romans had recovered Alexandria: the coins struck there in the names of Vaballathus and of Zenobia alone are few in number and all of the fifth year; and the issue of coins for Aurelian alone had commenced before the end of the year. Aurelian himself operated against Palmyra, and left the reduction of Egypt in the hands of Probus, who does [271 A.D.]

not seem to have encountered any strong opposition: it is probable that the Palmyrene forces had been summoned home to defend their capital, and had abandoned Egypt to its own devices.

26. More serious trouble was occasioned in the next year by a fresh rising in Egypt. Aurelian, after the capture of Palmyra and its queen, returned to Europe, and Palmyra straightway rose in revolt; Alexandria followed its example. The commercial ties between Egypt and Palmyra had been close, and the leader of the revolt, Firmus, who was a Greek of Seleukia, was a rich merchant of Alexandria. He appears to have acted in concert not only with the Palmyrenes but with the Blemyes of Nubia, with whom he had relations in connexion with the river-trade with the interior of Africa. Aurelian, however, took no action in Egypt till he had finally crushed Palmyra; he then marched on Alexandria, defeated Firmus, and drove the rebels into the quarter of Brucheion, where he besieged them and forced them to surrender. This quarter was almost destroyed, together with the walls of the city, in the course of the struggle.

27. Aurelian then left Egypt under the command of Probus, who had to deal with the Blemyes. They had not been able to create an effective diversion in favour of the Alexandrians; but they had overrun Upper Egypt as far as Ptolemais and Koptos, and it was only by degrees that he was able to drive them back to their homes.

TACITUS.

275-276.

PROBUS.

276-282.

Prefect.

Hadrianus Sallustius

. 280, Nov. 7.

(P. Oxy. 1191.)

Dioiketai.

Ulpus Aurelius	.	.	278, Mar./Apr.	(P. Oxy. 1409.)
Aurelius Proteas	.	.	{ 281, Jan. 11.	(P. Oxy. 1115.)
			{ See under Carinus.	

Epistrategos.

(Heptan.).

Aurelius Ammonius	.	.	280, Nov. 7.	(P. Oxy. 1191.)
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28. Before Probus had completed the pacification of Upper Egypt, he had been made emperor. After the death of Aurelian and the short reign of Tacitus, Florianus the brother of Tacitus had claimed the succession; but the Egyptian legions, which had probably been reinforced during the war with Palmyra and the rebellion of Firmus, and therefore carried more weight than usual in the decision between rival candidates for the purple, nominated their own commander: he was accepted by the senate and the armies of the East, and Florianus was killed by his own troops at Tarsos.

CARUS.

282-283.

CARINUS AND NUMERIANUS.

283-284.

Prefect.

Pomponius Januarius	.	.	284, May 21.	(P. Oxy. 1115.)
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Dioiketes.

Aurelius Proteas	.	.	{ See under Probus.	
			{ 284, May 21.	(P. Oxy. 1115.)

29. The economic history of Egypt from the time of Severus to that of Diocletian shows nothing but a decline from bad to worse. Even at the beginning of the period the intolerable burden of taxation had driven large numbers of the cultivators to leave their

homes and live the life of brigands; and nearly every record of assessment shows that considerable areas of land were unoccupied or waste. This may to some extent have been due to the failure of the government to maintain the irrigation system, as Probus employed his troops after the war with the Blemyes in cleansing and restoring the canals, which ought to have been done regularly year by year by the proper local officials; but the difficulty of making a living out of agriculture was the compelling reason. And, as no remission of the total amount of taxation required from each district was allowed, the burden grew more crushing on those who struggled on in proportion to the number of those who threw up their farms: most crushing of all on the unfortunate men who were forced to undertake the duty of directing the collection of the taxes levied on their villages, and whose property was seized by the government until the full amount due had been paid into the treasury. The rapid deterioration in the coinage shows the embarrassments of the authorities: the tetradrachm, which was the nominal standard, fell in weight by a third during the century, and in fineness from about fifteen per cent. silver to about two per cent.: the bronze currency vanished entirely, and its place was taken to some extent by local issues of leaden tokens. The rise in prices which accompanied this depreciation—for instance, that of corn, which doubled between the reign of Aurelius and that of Gallienus—was of little benefit to the farmers, as the greater part of their taxation was paid directly in kind to the State by measure and not by value: on the other hand, the wages which they had to pay to their labourers had also doubled in the same period. The position of the Egyptian farmers, especially those who held large amounts of land, must have been desperate when Diocletian took in hand the reform of the empire.

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE STATE AND THE CHURCH, 284-378 A.D.

DIOCLETIANUS.

284-305.

Prefects.

M. Aurelius Diogenes . . .	aft. 284, Oct. bef. 286, Mar.	(P. Oxy. 1456.)
Flavius Valerius Pompeianus .	{ 287, Sept.-Oct. 289, Sept. 15.	{ (P. Oxy. 888.) (P. Oxy. 1252.)
Æmilius Rusticianus (vice-pr.)	298.	(P. Oxy. 1469.)
Ælius Publius	299, Aug. 19.	(P. Oxy. 1204.)
Clodius Culcianus	{ 303, Feb. 28. See under Galerius.	{ (P. Oxy. 71.)

Dioiketes.

(?) Servæus Africanus . . .	288, Sept. 13.	(P. Oxy. 58.)
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1. THE defeat of the Blemyes by Probus had only checked their inroads for the moment; from year to year they renewed their attacks on Upper Egypt, finding no resistance, and probably some help, among the inhabitants, who could scarcely suffer more from their plundering than they did from that of the Roman government. The garrison at Syene was quite incapable of keeping the invaders back; and Diocletian devised a new plan for the protection of the Thebaid. The military frontier of the Dodekaschoinos had for the last half-century been only nominally under Roman control: there is no evidence that the forts there were occupied after the raid of the Blemyes in the reign of Decius, and probably the garrison of Egypt was unable to

spare the troops required for the effective maintenance of these posts. The district was not worth keeping for the purpose of raising revenue, as the strips of land available for cultivation were narrow, and the insecurity of the neighbourhood would not encourage farmers. So Diocletian formally withdrew the Roman frontier from Hierasykaminos to Syene, and invited the Nobadaë, one of the wandering tribes of the desert, to settle in



FIG. 58.—Philæ: Arch of Diocletian.

the Nile valley and to protect Upper Egypt against the Blemyes, promising them an annual subsidy in return for their services. At the same time a payment was made to the Blemyes, in order to buy off their ravages; and the fortifications of the new frontier were strengthened.

296 A.D.] 2. The difficulties in Upper Egypt had scarcely been settled, when disturbances broke out in Alexandria. Lucius Domitius Domitianus, a Roman officer who seems to have been known to the Alexandrians by the

nickname of Achilleus, revolted, and was accepted by the city as emperor. Diocletian was obliged to come to Egypt in person in order to put down the revolt; he besieged Alexandria for eight months, and finally took it by storm: a large part of the city was destroyed in the sack which followed.



FIG. 59.—Coin of Domitianus Domitianus. (British Museum.)

3. The revolt of Achilleus was in progress when Diocletian introduced his reform of the monetary system of the empire; and its nature, as an attempt made by a Roman commander to seize the supreme power rather than an uprising of the people of Egypt against Roman rule, is illustrated by the fact that the rebel leader found it advisable to adopt the changes in the currency which had been ordained by his adversary, and struck coins on the new standard. After the reduction of Alexandria, [297 A.D.] the reorganisation of the whole province, in accordance with the principles adopted throughout the empire, was carried out, and the government of Egypt lost much of its exceptional character as compared with other provinces.

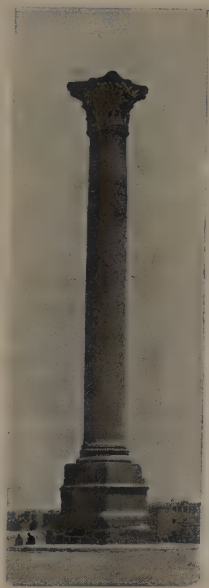


FIG. 60.—Column of Diocletian at Alexandria.

4. The prosperity of Alexandria had been seriously diminished in the latter part of the third century: it had been the scene of prolonged and destructive fighting in the three revolts of Æmilianus, Firmus, and Achilleus, and had been ravaged by disease; a good deal of the Eastern trade had probably been lost through the rise of the Axumite power in

302 A.D. ?] Abyssinia; and the decay of agriculture in the country would naturally affect the merchants of the chief town. Diocletian directed that a portion of the corn-tribute which was annually sent from Egypt to Rome should be diverted to the relief of the citizens of Alexandria; and it may have been in gratitude for this favour that the Alexandrians set up the column, still standing, known as Pompey's pillar.

5. The latter part of the reign of Diocletian was a time of considerable disturbance in Egypt, owing to the persecution of the Christians, who now numbered amongst them a large proportion of the population, especially in Lower Egypt. The new system of government was designed to create, amongst other things, a more distinctly superhuman position for the emperor, in the hope that one to whom sacrifices were offered, and who was almost a god upon earth, might be more secure against assassination than the military emperors of the last century had been. This design was met with resistance by the Christians; and the struggle provoked thereby was nowhere keener than in Egypt, where the traditions of the country might have led the government to expect that all they asked would have been granted at once, and that Diocletian would have been deified as readily as a Pharaoh or a Ptolemy had been. But Egyptian fanaticism did not die out in those converted to Christianity; and the endeavours of the Roman officials to secure the worship of the emperor were met by an obstinacy which frequently passed into foolishness and wanton provocation. It would be difficult to estimate with any approach to accuracy the number of those who were executed on religious grounds in Egypt; but they were certainly many, and of all classes of society. So profound was the feeling produced by the persecution, that for some centuries the Coptic Church used for their datings an "Era of the Martyrs" commencing from the reign of Diocletian.

GALERIUS

MAXIMINUS.

AND

305-311.

305-313.

Prefects.

Clodius Culcianus . . .	(See under Diocletian.	
Ammonius . . .	306, May 29.	(P. Oxy. 1104.)
	312, Aug. 17.	(P. Flor. 36.)

Præses.

Satrius Arrianus . . .	307.	(P. Grenf. ii. 78.)
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6. The persecution of the Christians was carried on steadily by Galerius and Maximinus Daza: the latter, to whose administration, first as Cæsar and then as Augustus, Egypt fell, was subsequently regarded with special hatred by the Church. The contest for power during the next few years did not involve Egypt as the scene of any hostilities: although Maximinus, after his defeat near Byzantium by Licinius, proposed to retreat [313 A.D.] on Egypt and raise a fresh army there, he did not survive to carry out this plan. If he had attempted it, it may be doubted whether the country would have supplied any forces of real military value.

LICINIUS.

313-323.

Præsides.

(Hercul.).

Antonius Gregorius . . .	314.	(C.P.R. i. 233.)
Aurelius Antonius . . .	316, Apr. 2.	(P. Oxy. 896.)
Quintus Iper . . .	322, Dec. 12.	(P. Thead. 13.)
Sabinianus . . .	323, Aug. 17.	(P. Oxy. 60.)

7. A measure of the importance of the Egyptian fleet in the general strength of the eastern part of the Roman empire is furnished by the details of the navy collected by Licinius for his struggle against Constantine, to which Egypt contributed eighty ships of war out of a total of three hundred and fifty.

CONSTANTINUS I.

323-337.

Prefects.

Julius Julianus	.	.	.	under Constantine.	(Jul. Ep. 10.)
Septimius Zeno	.	.	.	{ 328, June 8.	{ (Athanasius, Chron. Præv. in Epp. Fest.)
				{ 329, Apr. 6.	
Magninianus	.	.	.	330, Apr. 19.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
Florentius	.	.	.	331, Apr. 11.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
Hyginus	.	.	.	332, Apr. 2.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
Paterius	.	.	.	333, Apr. 15.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
Flavius Philagrius	.	.	.	{ 334, Apr. 7.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
				{ 337, Apr. 3.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
Flavius Antonius Theodorus				{ 337.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
				{ See under Constantius II.	

8. As soon as Constantine obtained sole power, Christianity was accorded official recognition by the State. But the Egyptian Christians had no sooner been relieved from persecution by the government than they found fresh occasion for trouble in sectarian quarrels. The dispute which arose between Athanasius and Arius on the relationship of the Father and the Son, besides its theological importance, had political consequences which profoundly affected the history of Egypt. The emperor was called upon to decide the point at issue in its earliest stage: Alexander, the bishop of Alexandria, appealed to him, as also did Arius; and since his letter, which declined to pronounce an opinion and endeavoured to pacify the opponents, produced no effect, he summoned a council of bishops at Nikaia to formulate a creed. Their decision led to the excommunication and banishment of Arius; but when he offered a written explanation, the emperor revoked the order of banishment, and directed Athanasius, who had now become bishop of Alexandria, to receive Arius into the Church again. Athanasius refused to obey this order, and was called before a fresh council of bishops at Tyre, deposed, and banished.

9. Thus Constantine had been placed in a peculiar position in relation to the Christian Church of Egypt.

He was looked upon as a possible arbiter of theological quarrels, with the civil power at his hand to enforce his decisions; but these decisions were only accepted by the party in whose favour they were given, and consequently the civil power became an instrument of constant use for the settlement of ecclesiastical questions. The natural result of this confusion of the functions of Church and State was that the bishops began to claim for themselves the authority of civil officials; and the charge of attempting to levy a tax, in the form of a linen garment, for the support of the Church, was laid against Athanasius. Such an act would have been an infringement of the prerogative of the emperor, who had always kept the sole control of the taxation of Egypt: certain revenues had formerly been assigned to the expenses of the temples and their worship, but it had been by direction of the rulers of the country, whether native, Greek, or Roman. Athanasius may have thought that he was entitled to obtain assistance for his religion similar to that which had been given to the heathen gods: he may have found a precedent for the particular form of aid he sought in the supply of linen which it had been customary to requisition for certain religious ceremonies; but his procedure was unauthorised, and was therefore taken as evidence of a design to overthrow the government of Constantine.

10. It is possible that Constantine visited Egypt, or was expected to do so, in the course of the year of the Council of Nikaia. Preparations were at any rate being made there for an imperial visit: on January 13th ^[325 A.D.] an official at Oxyrhynchos made a declaration with regard to supplies collected partly for this purpose and partly for the support of the troops at Babylon, and on May 26th animals were being sent from the same place to Babylon for the "sacred coming." There is, however, no evidence that he actually arrived in the country.

11. It may be suggested that the journey which he took in this year through the Eastern provinces was connected with his design for the foundation of a new

capital ; and, if this were known, the Alexandrians may have hoped that the choice of a place for this purpose would fall on their city, the greatest of the Hellenistic cities. But it is hardly a matter for surprise that, apart from any considerations of geographical situation, Constantine should not have desired to fix his residence in a city which had always been notoriously anti-Roman, and still kept up the tradition. It was towards the

335 A.D.] close of his reign that an attempt at rebellion was made by one Philumenos, which was discovered and crushed before any serious trouble occurred ; but it is significant that Athanasius was reported to have been involved in the plot. The bishops of Alexandria from this time forward tended to become the acknowledged leaders of the populace in opposition to the emperors, and they expressed the feelings of their flock in ways which mark them as the spiritual descendants of the Alexandrian gymnasiarchs of the first two centuries of Roman rule in Egypt.

12. An instance of the position which was arrogated 335 A.D.] by Athanasius appears in a letter from a member of the Meletian sect, the persecution of which by Athanasius was one of the chief charges brought against him by his adversaries at the court of Constantine. He is said to have imprisoned or banished various bishops and priests of the schismatics, and his followers tried to seize a Meletian bishop in the camp at Nikopolis, and, when he evaded them, assaulted other brethren. The occurrence of such proceedings at the actual headquarters of the imperial garrison of Egypt, which provided the ultimate sanction for the maintenance of order by the government, shows that the authorities must have been quite unable to cope with Athanasius.

CONSTANTIUS II.

337-361.

Prefects.

Flavius Antonius Theodorus . { See under Constantine.
338, Mar. 28. (P. Oxy. 67.)

Flavius Philagrius . . .	{ 338.	(Athan. Chr. Pr.)
	{ 340, Mar. 30.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
Longinus . . .	{ 341, Apr. 19.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
	{ 343, Mar. 27.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
Palladius . . .	{ 344, Apr. 15.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
Nestorius . . .	{ 345, Apr. 7.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
	{ 352, Apr. 19.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
Sebastianus . . .	{ 353, Apr. 11.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
	{ 354, Mar. 27.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
Maximus . . .	{ 355, Apr. 16.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
	{ 356, Apr. 7.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
Cataphronius . . .	{ 356, June 10.	(Chron. Aceph. 5.)
	{ 357, Mar. 23.	(Athan. Chr. Pr.)
Hermogenes Parnasius . .	{ 357.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
	{ 359, Apr. 4.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
Italicianus . . .	{ 359.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
Faustinus . . .	{ 359.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
	{ 361, Apr. 8.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
Gerontius . . .	{ 361.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
	{ See under Julian.)	

Præsides.

(Theb.).

Flavius Strategius . . .	349.	(P. Amh. 140.)
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(August.).

Flavius Julius Ammonius . .	341, Nov. 13.	(P. Oxy. 1559.)
Flavius Julius Ausonius . .	342, Feb.-Mar.	(P. Oxy. 87.)
Pomponius Metrodorus . .	357, July 2.	(P. Oxy. 66.)

13. The confusion of civil and ecclesiastical functions led to further serious consequences when the death of Constantine placed Egypt under the government of his weaker son Constantius. Athanasius now returned to Alexandria from Gaul, where he had been resident under the protection of the younger Constantine; and the support accorded to him by this emperor and by Constans secured him from any interference on the part of Constantius, the only one of the three sons of Constantine I., who shared the empire, belonging to the Arian creed. But when the death of Constantine II. [340 A.D.] left a freer hand to Constantius, he deposed Athanasius, and caused Gregory to be elected in his place by a synod of bishops held at Antioch. It was not, however, until an armed escort was sent to accompany him that

Gregory ventured to enter Alexandria; and the metropolitan church was held against him by the supporters of Athanasius, till Syrianus, the general in command of the escort, threatened to storm it. Athanasius thereupon withdrew and sought refuge at Rome, where he obtained the support of Constans and of Julius the bishop of Rome; and their joint threats and arguments, after a conference at Constantinople between Constantius and Athanasius, secured the conclusion of an agreement whereby the emperor and the bishop promised each to restore his theological opponents to the places from which they had been ejected.

346 A.D.] Athanasius accordingly once more resumed his office at Alexandria, where his supporters had kept up a continual disturbance in his absence: they had even succeeded in expelling the Arians from many monasteries, and in burning the metropolitan church, of which they had been dispossessed.

14. That the fear of civil war with Constans was a chief reason which had prompted Constantius to consent to this agreement was shown by the fact that, after the death of his brother, as soon as he had settled the troubles in the West which then arose, Constantius directed Athanasius to leave Egypt. This direction was disregarded, and over two years were spent in negotiations and councils before the emperor finally asserted his authority over the bishop. The general

356 A.D.] Syrianus entered Alexandria by night and invested the church where Athanasius and his followers were worshipping: a promiscuous slaughter followed, but in the confusion Athanasius escaped and was successfully concealed from pursuit by his friends; and during the remainder of the reign of Constantius all the endeavours of the authorities failed to secure the arrest of Athanasius, who probably spent the greater part of his time among the hermits or in the monasteries of Egypt, but occasionally visited Alexandria. Meanwhile the Arian party chose as their patriarch George of Cappadocia, who at once began a course of vigorous measures against his opponents, relying on

the assistance of the government to crush all those who disagreed with him.

JULIANUS.

361-363.

Prefects.

Gerontius . . .	{ See under Constantius.	
	{ 362, Mar. 31.	(Athan. Chron. Præv.)
Ecdicius Olympus	{ 362, July (?)	(Julian, ep. 9.)
	{ See under Jovian.	

15. The accession of Julian put a new aspect on the religious conflicts of Alexandria. During the disputes between the Athanasians and the Arians on points of doctrine in the two preceding reigns, both parties had had at any rate one common ground of activity in the destruction or conversion to Christian uses of temples and other monuments of polytheism; and they could exercise themselves in this work without any fear of drawing down upon their heads the displeasure of the government. But now the followers of the older religions had the emperor on their side, and they proceeded to take their revenge. George the bishop had incurred the hatred of the Alexandrians generally by making a proposal to Constantius that a special house-tax should be laid upon the city: in addition to this, the "pagan" section had against him the loss of their temples, and the Athanasians the persecution of their leader. So, almost as soon as the news of Julian's accession reached Alexandria, the mob rose [361 A.D.] and attacked George, whom they did to death together with Dracontius and Diodorus, the former of whom, and possibly the latter also, were high financial officials.

16. Julian severely rebuked the Alexandrians for these acts of violence; but at the same time he stated that George had deserved his fate, and made it the ground of his complaint that the proceedings had not been taken according to law; and he wrote to the catholicus and the prefect asking them to confiscate George's library for his own use. A more regular

course was followed in dealing with Artemius, who had been commander of the troops in Egypt throughout the reign of Constantius, and was accused of having occupied the temple of Sarapis and plundered it of statues and offerings: he was summoned to appear before the emperor and condemned to death.

17. It does not appear whether the Athanasian party took any hand in the attack on George, and it is probable that the murder was due more to the irritation in regard to the proposed tax than to religious animosity: the Alexandrian mob never needed any great incitement to raise a riot. But Athanasius reappeared in public and claimed to exercise his functions as bishop, which provoked the
 362 A.D.] emperor into the issue of an edict requiring him to withdraw from Alexandria. This edict was not immediately obeyed, and a deputation of the Alexandrians approached Julian with a request for its modification: whereupon he addressed a long and impassioned letter of reproach to them for their support of such a man, and extended his former order of banishment from Alexandria to one of banishment from Egypt; at the same time he wrote to the prefect threatening him with a heavy fine if Athanasius was not at once expelled. The bishop, however, did not leave the country, but withdrew to the Thebaid, and found in the monasteries there a protection against the wrath of Julian as he had formerly done against that of Constantius.

JOVIANUS.

363-364.

Prefect.

Ecdicius Olympus . . . { See under Julian.
 363, Sept. 15. (Chron. Aceph.)

18. The Athanasian party had at length an emperor belonging to their own sect of the Church in Jovian; and their leader was able to come out of concealment once more and to resume his functions as patriarch of Alexandria.

VALENS.

364-378.

Prefects.

Hierius	364, Apr. 4.	(Athan. Chron. Præv.)
Maximus	364.	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
Flavianus	{ 364. 366, July 21. }	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
Proculeianus	{ 366, after July 21. 367, April 1. }	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus	{ 367, Sept. 13. 370, Mar. 29. }	(Chron. Aceph.) (Athan. Chron. Præv.)
Olympius Palladius	{ 370. 371, Apr. 17. }	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>)
Ælius Palladius	{ 371. 374, or later. }	(Athan. <i>ib.</i>) (C.I.G. 8610.)

Præsides.

(Theb.).

Flavius Heraclius	368.	(P. Leipz. 33 ⁱⁱ .)
Flavius Antonius Domitianus	371, Oct. 7.	(P. Leipz. 58.)
Julius Eubulius Julianus	{ 372. 373. }	(P. Leipz. 52.) (P. Lond. 1650.)
Flavius Eutychius	373.	(P. Leipz. 34 ^v .)
Flavius Pompeius Pergamius	375, Nov. 10.	(P. Leipz. 61.)
Flavius Ælius Gessius	{ 376, Feb. 9 (?). 378. }	(P. Leipz. 54.) (Arch. Pap. I. 379.)

19. The state of peace between the Egyptians and the government was of short duration. The partition of the empire between Valentinian and Valens gave Egypt into the charge of the latter; and, as he was an Arian, he came at once into conflict with the majority of the Egyptian Christians. The popularity of Athanasius, indeed, enabled him to procure the revocation of an edict of banishment which the prefect had issued against him on the ground that the original order of Constantius banishing him had never been revoked; and he held his bishopric thenceforth in peace till his death. But his successor Peter was [373 A.D. imprisoned by direction of the emperor, and the Arian

patriarch Lucius, who had been originally elected by his sect in the time of Julian, was supported by the imperial troops in what is described by the ecclesiastical historian of the orthodox party as a course of violent persecution. His worst offence, however, in their eyes seems to have been that he assisted in the enforcement of a new law, which abolished the privilege of exemption from military service to which the monks laid claim. If any troops were to be recruited in Egypt, where practically all the inhabitants of some towns, such as Oxyrhynchos, were said to be under monastic vows, it was out of the question to recognise such a claim to exemption; but the monks stoutly resisted the attempt to force them into the army, and many of them preferred to risk death fighting against, rather than with, the imperial troops.

20. The need of increased armaments was brought home to the government by an incursion of the Saracens, who advanced round the head of the Red Sea on the eastern frontier of Egypt, under the command of their queen Mavia, although they were nominally allies of the Empire. The Roman forces were apparently unequal to the task of meeting them, and they had to be bought off by a treaty, of which the only recorded, but probably least substantial, conditions were the marriage of a daughter of Mavia to the Roman general Victor and the provision of an Egyptian bishop for the Saracens.

21. The reforms of Diocletian apparently did something to effect a check in the downward course of the economic condition of Egypt; at any rate, for a few years the currency remained fairly stable, and the increase of prices was not very marked. There was a revival of trade with the East when, in the reign of Constantine, Frumentius negotiated treaties of commerce with the Axumites of Abyssinia; and Theophilus did the same a few years later with the Himyarites of Arabia. These two nations now controlled the Æthiopian and Indian traffic, as they had done before

the time of Augustus: the Alexandrian merchants had allowed the monopoly which the government secured for them in the first century to slip out of their hands. But the state of the cultivators of the land was in many districts desperate, owing to the burden of taxation and the neglect of irrigation: a group of documents from the village of Theadelphia in the Fayûm shows that in the reign of Constantine nearly all the inhabitants had fled, and only three out of twenty-five of those on the assessment-lists were left to pay taxes on land of which the greater part was unwatered. The government still endeavoured to prevent the farmers from evading their obligations: an edict of Constantius forbade the custom of patronage, by which a community put itself under the protection of some wealthy or influential individual, preferably an official, who could assist them in any difficulties with the government; and other edicts of Valens provided that the *curiales*, who were responsible for the payment of the taxes, should not be allowed to move from the towns into the country, and that, if they fled to the desert with the object of becoming monks, they should be seized and brought back. The nominal value of the currency dropped at a rapid rate, and by the end of the reign of Constantine the *denarius*, which after the monetary reform of Diocletian had replaced the *drachma* as the unit of reckoning, had depreciated to such an extent that prices were quoted in myriads of *denarii*. The bronze coinage became money of account merely, and any bit of metal served as a counter to represent a myriad of *denarii*: though gold values were not seriously affected, a gold currency was impossible for purposes of ordinary life. The result of this is to be seen in a law of Valens which decreed that tribute should not be paid in money; and, similarly, the evidence of the *papyri* shows that a considerable number of small transactions were settled in kind.

CHAPTER V

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SUPREMACY OF THE CHURCH, 379-527 A.D.

THEODOSIUS I.

379-395.

Prefects.

Hadrianus (?)	.	.	.	379, (?)	(Exc. Barb.)
Julius Julianus	.	.	.	380, Mar. 17.	(Cod. Theod. xii. 1. 80, xv. 1. 20.)
Palladius	.	.	.	382, May 14.	(Cod. Theod. viii. 5. 37.)
Hypatius	.	.	.	{ 383, Apr. 29.	(Cod. Theod. xii. 6. 17.)
	.	.	.	{ 383, May 8.	(Cod. Theod. xi. 36. 37.)
Antoninus (?)	.	.	.	383, (?)	(Exc. Barb.)
Optatus	.	.	.	384, Feb. 4.	(Const. Sirmond. 3.)
Florentius	.	.	.	{ 384, Dec. 20.	(Cod. Theod. ix. 33. 1.)
	.	.	.	{ 386, June 16.	(Cod. Theod. xii. 1. 112.)
Eusebius (?)	.	.	.	386, (?)	(Bauer, Alex. Weltchr. p. 54.)
Paulinus	.	.	.	{ 386, Nov. 30.	(Cod. Theod. xii. 6. 22.)
	.	.	.	{ 387, (?)	(Bauer, Alex. Weltchr. p. 54.)
Flavius Ulpius Erythrius	.	.	.	388, Apr. 30.	(Cod. Theod. ix. 11. 1.)
Alexander	.	.	.	{ 389, (?)	(Bauer, Alex. Weltchr. p. 61.)
	.	.	.	{ 390, Feb. 18.	(Cod. Theod. xiii. 5. 18.)
	.	.	.	{ 390, (?)	(Bauer, Alex. Weltchr. p. 61.)
Evagrius	.	.	.	{ 391, June 16.	(Cod. Theod. xvi. 10. 11.)
	.	.	.	{ 392, Apr. 9.	(Cod. Theod. xi. 36. 31.)
Hypatius	.	.	.	{ 392, Apr. 12.	(Cod. Theod. xiii. 5. 20.)
	.	.	.	{ 392, May 5(?).	(Cod. Theod. i. 29. 7.)
Potamius	.	.	.	{ 392, July 30.	(Cod. Theod. viii. 5. 51.)
Evagrius (?)	.	.	.	393, (?)	(Bauer, Alex. Weltchr. p. 66.)

Præsides.

(Theb.).

Flavius Ulpius Erythrius	{ 384, Nov. 4. 385. }	(P. Leipz. 62.)
Flavius Eutolmius Arsenius	388, June 14.	(P. Leipz. 63.)
Flavius Septimius Eutropius	bef. 390.	(P. Leipz. 38 ^{II} .)
Flavius Asclepiades	{ 390, Sept. 19. 391, May 29. }	(P. Leipz. 38.) (P. Leipz. 14.)
Hesychius		

1. ON the accession of Theodosius, steps were taken for the compulsory Christianisation of the whole Roman empire, and the imperial decree was vigorously enforced in Alexandria and Lower Egypt. In the upper country the authority of the government was scarcely strong enough to secure its observance, even if the officials had cared to do this. For the most part, however, they were either too prudent administrators or too lukewarm Christians—if indeed they were not actually pagans, as the more fanatical bishops and monks frequently asserted—to try to force a particular type of religion upon an unwilling people; and the manners and methods of the leaders of the Christians were not such as to excite admiration in trained civil servants, to whom they must have been a serious embarrassment.

2. The emperor had ordered the closing of all temples in which sacrifices were offered; and the monks went beyond this and destroyed the temples. In Alexandria, where the prætorian prefect Cynegius with the imperial troops assisted the patriarch Theophilus in the work of conversion, the great temple of Sarapis was the chief point round which the struggle raged. [385 A.D.] The followers of the old religion, who had been provoked by the action of Theophilus in seizing a temple of Dionysos and exhibiting the sacred symbols in the streets, attacked the Christians and fortified themselves in the Sarapeion, and were only expelled by the military after much bloodshed. This and most of the temples captured by the Christians were turned into churches, and the leaders of the philosophical schools were forced to withdraw from Alexandria.

ARCADIUS.

395-408.

Prefects.

Gennadius . . .	396, Feb. 5.	(Cod. Theod. xiv. 27. 1.)
Remigius . . .	{ 396, Mar. 20.	(Cod. Theod. i. 2. 10.)
	{ 396, Mar. 30.	(Cod. Theod. iii. 1. 7.)
Archelaus . . .	{ 397, June 17.	(Cod. Theod. ix. 45. 2.)
	{ 397, Nov. 26.	(Cod. Theod. ii. 1. 9.)
Pentadius . . .	403/4.	(Synes. Ep. 29.)
Euthalius . . .	404/5.	(Synes. Ep. 127.)

3. From this time the political history of Egypt was dominated to a considerable extent by the patriarchs of Alexandria, and during the next fifty years, in



FIG. 61.—The Red Monastery: Interior looking west.
(Photo. by J. G. M.)

particular, little is recorded except with regard to the outbreaks of the bishops and their followers, which gave the imperial authorities almost as much occupation

as did the forced conversion of the pagans. The position arrogated to himself by the bishop of Alexandria, as well as the spirit in which theological controversy was conducted, is illustrated by the story of the dispute which arose in respect of the anthropomorphist conception of God held by the greater part of the Egyptian Church. Theophilus the patriarch, as though those who did not agree with him were rebels against his authority, and therefore against that of the government, took a body of soldiers and destroyed a number of the monasteries of Nitriotis, which were inhabited by his theological opponents. This assumption of civil jurisdiction was a further development from the attitude of disregard for and independence of the directions of the emperor which had been adopted by Athanasius, and led to a more definite break in the next reign.

THEODOSIUS II.

408-450

Prefects.

Orestes	415.	(Socr. H.E. vii. 13.)
Callistus	422, Sept. 7	(Theophanes, Chron. 72.)
Cleopater	435, Jan. 29.	(Cod. Theod. vi. 28. 8.)
Charmsynus	443, June 25.	(Theoph. Chron. 83.)

Præsides

(Arcad.).

Flavius Aristonicus Alexander	425.	(B.G.U. 936.)
Flavius Demetrianus Maximus	{ 427, Feb. 25.	(P. Oxy. 1880.)
	{ 427, Mar. 13.	(P. Oxy. 1881.)
Flavius Anthemius Isidorus	434.	(P. Oxy. 1879.)
Theophilus		

4. It was natural that, when the patriarch interfered with the functions which properly belonged to the imperial officials, those officials in their turn should intervene in matters that were primarily ecclesiastical. Thus, when Theophilus died and the election of his successor was in question, Abundantius, the general in

command of the Roman garrison of Egypt, brought his troops on the scene in an attempt to influence the decision : his support, however, did not secure the victory for the candidate whom he favoured, and probably rather tended to prejudice his chances by identifying him with the imperial party.

5. The new patriarch, Cyril, an able and ambitious man, took a line of active opposition to the prefect and aimed at making himself the virtual ruler of Alexandria. He attacked the Jews, who, during the period of nearly three centuries which had elapsed since their revolts were crushed by Trajan and Hadrian, had grown numerous and influential once more in the city. The precise origin of the quarrel is obscure ; it may well have arisen from nothing more than the traditional hatred of the Alexandrian mob for the Jews, now reinforced by Christian prejudices, and the desire of the lower classes to plunder the richer members of the community. In any case, plunder of the Jews was what actually resulted : their quarter of the city was sacked, and they were driven from their homes.

6. This expulsion and robbery of the chief merchants of Alexandria, the people on whom the prosperity of the city mainly depended, by a mob of monks and vagabonds, was an act which the authorities could not be expected to overlook. So Orestes, the imperial prefect, tried to interfere ; but his troops were unable to quell the disturbances, and he only succeeded in drawing the hatred of the monks upon himself. He was attacked and wounded in the street ; and the victory remained with Cyril.

7. Cyril also attempted to suppress the philosophical schools, which were now the main centre of paganism, in the sense of non-Christian religious ideas, in Alexandria. The most conspicuous figure in them was Hypatia, who had the friendship and support of the prefect ; but he was no more able to protect her than he had been to save the Jews from Cyril, and the monks fell upon Hypatia and murdered her in the Church of the Cæsareum. This outrage led to the

sending of an imperial commissioner, Ædesius, to hold an inquiry, and Cyril was obliged to reduce the numbers of the parabalani, the lay-brothers who had served as the most effective of his instruments for disturbance; but in the next year, when the remembrance of the murder had presumably grown fainter, he recruited them again.

8. Since the treaty of Diocletian had interposed the Nobadæ as a buffer between the Roman frontier at Syene and the territory of the Blemyes, there had been comparatively little trouble experienced in Upper Egypt from the barbarian tribes of Nubia. The rulers of the Nobadæ had fulfilled the task which had been entrusted to them by keeping the Blemyes in check, and seem to have established their authority over the whole of the old Roman military frontier. But in the latter part of the reign of Theodosius II. the Blemyes became aggressive once more, and appear to have acted in concert with the Nobadæ, as an appeal to the emperor from the bishop of Syene and Elephantine mentions both nations as making raids upon his see, and begs that the military commander of the frontier may be instructed to place troops at his disposal for the protection of his churches. The ravages of the Blemyes extended to the Great Oasis, where they defeated the Roman garrison and carried away the inhabitants as captives, amongst them being Nestorius the heresiarch, who had been sent there in banishment: the prisoners, however, were subsequently restored to the Egyptian authorities, seemingly because the line of retreat of the Blemyes was threatened by the neighbouring tribe of the Mazacæ.

9. It was probably on account of the need for closer supervision of the defences of the frontier which these incursions proved that under Theodosius the province of the Thebaid was subdivided, and the upper part placed in the care of a governor with both civil and military power; this marked a departure from the principle laid down by Diocletian in his reorganisation, that these powers should always be separated.

MARCIANUS.

450-457.

Prefects.

Theodorus	451.	(Liberatus Breviarium, c. 14.)
Florus	452.	(Priscus, fr. 22.)

10. The new scheme for the control of the southern frontier was so far a success that Florus, the governor of the Upper Thebaid, was able to drive back the raiding tribes, and Maximinus, the Master of Soldiers in the East, concluded a peace with them for one hundred years, on the terms that they should release all Roman captives, pay compensation for damage done, and surrender hostages. The last stipulation was said to be one to which neither the Blemyes nor the Nobadæ had ever before submitted, and the conditions generally point to a severe defeat having been inflicted upon them. They obtained by the peace leave to visit the temple of Isis at Philæ, and at stated times to borrow her statue and take it into their own country to consult it: this provision shows that the pagan worship at Philæ not only continued to exist, but was so far recognised by the authorities that they were prepared to use it as an item in negotiations.

11. Very shortly after the conclusion of the treaty Maximinus died; whereupon the Blemyes and Nobadæ treated their agreement as at an end, and invaded the Thebaid, where they found and recovered the hostages whom they had recently given. But Florus, who was now prefect of Egypt, returned to the scene of his former successes, and compelled them to agree to peace again. It was exceptional at this time for the prefect of Egypt to hold a military command, and the arrangement was probably sanctioned on account of the special knowledge of warfare on the frontier which Florus had previously acquired.

12. The relations between the government and the Church in Alexandria were growing still more strained. The former represented the ideas of Constantinople,

the latter those of Egypt; and when the emperor, to deprive the Alexandrians of their usual leader in their risings against his officers, obtained from a general council at Chalkedon the excommunication of Dioscorus the patriarch of Alexandria, and sent to replace him an orthodox bishop in the person of Proterius, the populace of Alexandria rose against the imperial nominee. The imperial troops who escorted Proterius defeated them and drove the leaders into the old temple of Sarapis, which they burnt with those in it; but it needed a reinforcement of two thousand men and a regular sack of Alexandria to secure the new bishop on his throne. Their guilt was brought home to the citizens by a stoppage of the public games, closure of the baths, and withdrawal of the corn-supply.

LEO I.

457-474.

Prefect.

Alexander	.	.	.	{ 468, Aug. 19. (Cod. Just. ii. 7. 13.)
			.	{ 469, Sept. 1. (Cod. Just. i. 57. 1.)

13. The bishopric of Proterius was, however, of short duration. Since it was only by the help of the army that he had been put in office, as soon as the commander of that army was called to Upper Egypt the Alexandrians rose in rebellion and chose a monk named Timothy Ælurus as their patriarch. Before the prefect could return to Alexandria, Proterius had been [457 A.D. murdered. But in spite of this unmistakable evidence of the feelings of the people, the emperor was persuaded on the advice of the bishops to refuse recognition to a heterodox priest; and he proceeded to set aside the choice of the Egyptian Church in favour of a nominee of his own, Timothy Salophaciolus.

14. An unwonted movement took place under Leo, when Egypt was used as a base of operations against [471 A.D. the Vandal kingdom in North Africa. The troops of the Thebaid and Egypt were mobilised under the command of Heraclius and attacked Libya, where they

recovered Tripolis and other cities. The expedition failed, through the incompetence of Basiliscus, the commander of the fleet which had sailed from Constantinople to co-operate with the army of Heraclius; but the Egyptian troops seem to have withdrawn successfully, and it is interesting to find that on this occasion they were able to give proof of military efficiency.

LEO II.

474.

ZENO.

474-491.

Prefects.

Boëthus	476.	(Zacharias Mytil. v. 4.)
Anthemius	477.	(Liberatus Brev. c. 16.)
Theoctistus	c. 477/8.	(Zach. v. 5.)
Theognostus	{ 479. 482.	{ (Zach. v. 6.) (Zach. v. 7.)
Pergamius	482.	(Zach. v. 7.)
Apollonius	482.	(Liber. Brev. c. 17.)
Arsenius	487.	{ (Evagrius, iii. 22.) (Zach. vi. 4.)

Præses.

(Arcad.).

Apio Theodosius Johannes 488, Sept. 25. (P. Oxy. 1888; cf. 1877.)

15. At length the dynastic troubles which arose at Constantinople after the death of Leo brought to the throne for a time a ruler whose religious opinions were those of the Egyptian Church, in the person of Basiliscus, who succeeded in expelling Zeno from his capital. He forthwith restored Timothy Ælurus to Alexandria; and that priest held the office of patriarch until his death, which occurred just in time to save him from fresh deposition by Zeno, who had recovered his authority. The Alexandrians then elected Peter Mongus, who was, as usual, deposed by the emperor's orders in favour of the old nominee of Constantinople, Timothy Salophaciolus. He, however, also soon died;

475 A.D.]

477 A.D.]

and thereupon a fresh complication was caused by the choice of the people falling upon John of Tabenna. This man had formerly been sent to Constantinople as representative of the Egyptian Church to ask that they might in future choose their own bishop; and he had been required by the emperor, before the desired favour was granted, to swear that he would not take the bishopric if it were offered to him. In view of this oath, Zeno apparently thought it the lesser of two evils to disregard John and recall Peter Mongus, who had been chosen by the Church on a previous occasion. He agreed to the publication by the emperor of an edict, styled the Henotikon, which was intended to [482 A. D.] restore the position of things which had existed in the Church before the Council of Chalkedon had declared war on the opinions of the Egyptians, and accordingly provided that the decrees of that council should be left in oblivion. Peter, however, almost immediately disregarded the agreement, and banished from the Egyptian monasteries all monks who held to the Chalkedonian doctrines; to which measure the emperor replied by reinforcing the garrison of Egypt and deporting the ringleaders of the Alexandrians to Constantinople.

ANASTASIUS.

491-518.

Prefects.

Eustathius	.	.	.	501 (?)	(Eutychius, Ann. ii. 132.)
Theodosius	.	.	.	516.	(Malal. 401.)

16. Peace was secured at last by the death of Peter and the election of Athanasius to the bishopric of Alexandria; and for the rest of the reign of Zeno and the whole of that of Anastasius the religious troubles of the Egyptians were lulled to rest.

17. It was well for the maintenance of Roman rule in Egypt that the ecclesiastical quarrels were ended, as attacks were made on the country from various quarters. The Persians, who had been threatening the Eastern frontier for some time, now invaded the

Delta; and the imperial troops were unable to defend the open country and retired to Alexandria. Here, however, they held out, in spite of difficulties caused by the insufficiency of supplies in the city, until the invaders withdrew. The Blemyes also renewed their raids on the upper country, and it may have been at this time that they penetrated as far north as Antaiopolis, which is stated in a papyrus to have been laid waste by them apparently about the beginning of the sixth century.

18. It was probably with a view to arranging for an attack on the Persian territories bordering on Arabia, and so diverting their attention from Egypt, that Anastasius sent an embassy to Arethas, the ruler of the Saracens, and concluded a treaty with him.

JUSTINUS I.

518-527.

19. The same policy was pursued by Justin, who sent a second embassy to Alamundar, another Saracen sheikh; and it was about this time that the Roman authorities began to enter into definite relations with the Axumite Kingdom of Abyssinia, which had been steadily growing in power and in control of the Indian and Æthiopian trade; the Axumites had invaded Yemen, dispossessed the Jewish king who ruled the Himyarites, and set up a tributary king of that nation, so that they were now masters of the Red Sea navigation.

20. The economic condition of Egypt during the fifth century seems to have been desperate, though the absence of any substantial body of contemporary records on papyri makes it difficult to describe the situation in any detail: the mere fact that comparatively few papyri have been preserved from this period, while there are many of the fourth century and of the sixth, is perhaps significant. But it is fairly clear that there was a steady growth in large estates, and, whereas

in the fourth century privately owned land, of which there was a good deal in Egypt, was held in numerous parcels of varying size by owners of all ranks, by the sixth century the small owner had almost disappeared, and a few great landholders had absorbed most of the private land and much of the public land as well. These men also practically ruled the villages in their neighbourhood, which put themselves under their protection, and the government was powerless against them. Till the end of the fourth century the emperors fought against the system of patronage, but finally gave up the struggle and accepted the great lords as the responsible authorities of their districts, allowing them to arrogate an almost independent rule, as evidenced by their private prisons and bodies of retainers.

21. The only real rival of the territorial magnates in this period was the Christian Church, which not only defied the imperial authority in matters both ecclesiastical and civil, as appears constantly in the history of the time, but also continually added to its possessions in land. The estates of the Church were mainly in the hands of the monasteries, and were cultivated by the monks; and the account in the life of Schenute, which states that his monastery fed the prisoners recovered from the Blemyes for three months at a cost of two hundred and sixty-five thousand drachmas, with eighty-five thousand artabas of wheat and two hundred artabas of olives, is not improbably correct, and gives some idea of the resources of a monastery. As whole districts were under monastic vows, the produce of all the work of the inhabitants would pass through the hands of the ecclesiastical superiors; and these corporations were strong enough, both in their influence and their buildings, to resist any undue exactions on the part of the government, and thus to secure their general prosperity and the comfort of each individual member. The advantages to be gained from membership of the Christian Church and its rights of asylum may be inferred from the edict

which forbade Jews to profess Christianity or take



FIG. 62.—The White Monastery : North door. (Photo. by J. G. M.)

refuge in churches to escape payment of debts or accusations of crime.

22. The landed proprietors and the monastic corporations seem to have formed themselves and their dependents into self-sufficient communities, with a consequent diminution in external trade ; and to this

may be ascribed the almost complete disappearance of current coin in Egypt. It is true that the depreciation of the denarius had gone so far as to make the old bronze coinage a mere money of account, and the only real standard was the gold solidus ; but coins of gold and bronze alike issued by any emperor after Arcadius and Honorius and before Anastasius are practically unknown in Egypt. Alexandria, a large part of whose prosperity had been derived from the trade which passed through it, naturally suffered ; and the expulsion of the Jews, who formed an important section of the business community, by Cyril added to the depression. Thus, a few years later, an additional supply of corn for the relief of the inhabitants of Alexandria was necessary, in spite of a considerable decrease in the population.

CHAPTER VI

THE FINAL BREAKDOWN OF ROMAN RULE, 527-642 A.D.

JUSTINIANUS I.

527-565.

Prefects.

Dioscorus . . .	c. 535.	(Liberatus Brev. c. 20.)
Rhodon . . .	538.	(Liber. Brev. c. 23 ; Procop. Arcan. 27. 3.)
Liberius . . .	c. 539-542.	(Liber. Brev. c. 23 ; Procop. Arcan. 27. 17, 29. 1.)
Johannes Laxarion .	542.	(Procop. Arcan. 29. 1.)
Hephæstus . . .	?	(Procop. Arcan. 26. 35.)

1. EARLY in his reign Justinian took measures to develop the friendly relations with the nations controlling the Red Sea littoral which were necessary in order to secure the trade with the East. Nonnosus, whose father and grandfather had been employed on similar missions to the Saracens of Arabia, visited the Axumite Kingdom in Abyssinia and its Himyarite dependency in Yemen, and succeeded in concluding treaties with both which engaged their help against Persia. Soon after this, however, the Axumite garrison in the tributary kingdom of Yemen revolted and set up a king of their own, who, after attempts to suppress him had been made and failed, was finally recognised.

2. The perpetual trouble of the rival patriarchs at Alexandria was taken in hand by Justinian with as little success as had attended the efforts of his predecessors. He tried to settle the dispute by sending a nominee of his own ; but bishops from Constantinople,

even with the assistance of the imperial troops, were never able to hold their position long against the opposition of the Alexandrians; and when the second of Justinian's nominees was expelled by his flock, he was accompanied by all the other Egyptian bishops who dissented from the national Monophysite creed. ¹⁹

3. The difficulties of the situation at Alexandria were not diminished by the religious differences between the emperor and the empress at Constantinople. The Monophysites could always count on the support of Theodora, and it was dangerous for an official to take active measures against them, as Rhodon the prefect found. He had been instructed by Justinian to support his chosen bishop, but when he proceeded to carry out the bishop's wishes by arresting and torturing to death a deacon of the opposing sect, Theodora secured his recall and execution, and even the production of the written instructions of the emperor did not save him. ¹⁹ [538 A.D.]

4. The whole administration of the country was indeed in hopeless confusion. Shortly before the prefecture of Rhodon, Justinian had tried to strengthen the government by relieving the Augustal prefect of all responsibility for the Thebaid, which was given an Augustal of its own with full civil and military powers, and leaving only Alexandria and Lower Egypt under his direct supervision; but the disorganisation of the civil service could not be cured by subdivision of offices. The root of the matter probably lay in the complete disregard of discipline, which was naturally fostered by such treatment from the central government as was experienced by Rhodon, and was illustrated by the action of his successor, Liberius, who, when deposed and recalled, refused to withdraw, and on the arrival of the newly appointed prefect, Johannes Laxarion, withstood him with an armed force, and killed him in the battle which ensued. ¹⁹ [542 A.D.]

5. From such officials as these, who were primarily concerned with defending their own position, the imperialist patriarchs could expect little help; and Justinian accordingly seems to have conferred on his

541 A.D.] third nominee to the bishopric of Alexandria, Apollinarius, powers concurrent with those of the prefect, so that the ruler of the Church would have under his immediate control the soldiers who were required to enforce his decisions upon, and collect his revenues from, the people under his pastoral care. The new patriarch signalised his arrival by a general massacre of the Alexandrian mob, who refused to receive or listen to him, and even stoned him in the church where he endeavoured to address them; and thus he succeeded in removing the most turbulent of the elements in the country which were opposed to his rule. Henceforward, however, the imperially appointed (Melkite) patriarch exerted no religious influence in Alexandria, and probably performed a minimum of religious functions; the people of Egypt regarded as their head the Monophysite (Jacobite) patriarch, who was elected by the local churches, and in whose hands the spiritual government of the country really lay.

6. The emperor was, however, able to utilise the religious organisations to some extent for military purposes, though they were theologically in revolt from his authority. The great monasteries of Upper Egypt had for long served as refuges to the surrounding population during the plundering inroads of the desert tribes; and now, since the Eastern frontier was menaced by the advance of the Persians in Syria, Justinian erected a group of buildings to hold the passes under Mount Sinai on the Egyptian road: these buildings were planned to serve both as a monastery and as a fort, and were garrisoned by monks.

7. Religious means of a different kind were employed in securing the Southern frontier. The Nobadæ of Nubia, during the period of over eighty years which had elapsed since their defeat by Maximinus and Florus, seem to have observed the peace which had been imposed upon them fairly well; and they were converted to Christianity, after a race between the emissaries of Justinian and those of Theodora, in which the latter won and so attached the new converts to the Monophysite

sect. Their king thereupon co-operated with the Romans in crushing the Blemyes, who had been much more troublesome neighbours to Egypt, and forced them to adopt the Christian faith. The temples at Philæ, which the treaty of Maximinus had empowered the barbarians to visit annually for purposes of worship, thus lost their diplomatic importance, and Justinian sent Narses the Persarmenian up the Nile to close the temples, imprison the priests, and bring the statues to Constantinople. [543 A.D.]

8. The suppression of pagan rites at Philæ was consistent with the policy followed elsewhere in Egypt by Justinian, who sought to destroy all the last strongholds of the older religions: thus he closed the temple of Zeus Ammon and Alexander in the oasis of Augila, and built a church to the Mother of God instead; and at Alexandria he forbade the continuance of teaching in the schools of philosophy, and drove the leading professors to take refuge with the Persians. A similarly drastic line of action was taken in dealing with the turbulent populace of Alexandria, where Hephæstus the prefect not only put down disturbances with a strong hand, but created a complete government monopoly in all classes of goods, and stopped the distribution of corn which had been initiated by Diocletian.

JUSTINUS II.

565-578.

Prefect.

Germanus Justinus . . . 566. (Theophanes, Chron. 206.)

9. In the reign of Justin II. the attempt to harass the Persians through Arabia was renewed, and the Himyarites under King Arethas were persuaded to attack the nearest Persian territory by promises of commercial advantages; this consideration points to the continued importance of the Eastern trade from Egypt down the Red Sea. [572 A.D.]

10. The Blemyes, in spite of their conversion to Christianity, were still troublesome; in fact, within a

very few years of this event, they were regarded as a danger in the Thebaid; and under Justin the commander
577 A.D.] of the Roman troops, Theodorus, was obliged to restore the fortifications of Philæ.

TIBERIUS II.

578-582.

11. These fortifications, however, were insufficient to keep the marauders in check, and a punitive expedition was sent under the command of the general Aristomachus against the Nubian and Mauretanian tribes, which seems to have succeeded in its object.

12. The state of anarchy into which Egypt had drifted, while officials and subjects alike did what was right in their own eyes, and the government at Constantinople seemed capable of nothing but vacillation, which has already been noted as existing in the reign of Justinian, is further illustrated by the events under Tiberius. Aristomachus was accused of having behaved too presumptuously in his command, and was arrested and brought to Constantinople, but was promptly pardoned, and justified his pardon by his victory.

MAURICIUS.

582-602.

Prefects.

Johannes	?	(Joh. Nik. 97.)
Paulus	?	(Joh. Nik. 97.)
Johannes (reinstated)	?	(Joh. Nik. 97.)
Constantinus	?	(Joh. Nik. 97.)
Menas	600.	(Joh. Nik. 97; Theoph. 236.)

13. Additional evidence of the chaotic condition of affairs in Egypt is given by some occurrences in the reign of Maurice. Certain men plundered the two villages of Kynopolis and Busiris in the Delta "without authorisation from the prefect of the nome"; and when the officials at Alexandria threatened them with punishment, they collected a body of men and seized the corn which was being sent from the country to Alexandria,

thus causing a famine in the city. The government acted with its usual vacillation: John, the prefect of Alexandria, was deposed, but as soon as he had offered an explanation was reinstated. This measure naturally did not check the disturbances in the country, and an army was required to crush the revolt. Another outbreak of brigandage under one Azarias occurred at Panopolis, but proved less serious.

PHOCAS.

602-610.

Prefects.

Petrus Justinus	.	.	.	602/3.	(Joh. Nik. 107.)
Johannes.	.	.	.	609.	(Joh. Nik. 107.)

14. Egypt became for a time the main centre of interest in the politics of the empire when Heraclius raised the standard of revolt against Phocas in Africa, [609 A.D. and, while he himself crossed to Thessalonika, sent Niketas from Cyrenaica to occupy Egypt and cut off the corn-supply of Constantinople. The expeditionary force met with little opposition till they reached the vicinity of Alexandria, where the imperial general was waiting for them outside the walls: he was defeated and killed, and the Heraclian troops were received into the city with enthusiasm by the clergy and people. All Lower Egypt thereupon made common cause with the insurgents, only two prefects of garrisons—those of Sebennytos and Athribis—holding to the party of Phocas. But Bonosus the governor of Syria, who had been ordered by Phocas to Egypt, soon arrived, and advanced up the eastern edge of the Delta to the relief of Athribis, which was invested by the insurgents. He united his forces with those of the two loyal prefects, defeated and killed Bonakis, the general of the Heraclians, and drove the remainder of their troops into Alexandria.

15. Niketas was in command at Alexandria and prepared to defend the city; and when the army of Bonosus approached the walls, he sallied out and

inflicted a severe defeat upon it. Bonosus withdrew to Nikiou, where he rallied his troops and continued to threaten Alexandria ; but Niketas gradually established his position in the Delta until Bonosus, finding himself nearly surrounded, fled to Constantinople, and Nikiou, with all the remaining imperial towns, surrendered to Niketas.

HERACLIUS I.

610-641.

Prefects.

Niketas	610.	(Joh. Nik. 107.)
Cyrus	{ 631.	(Severus, p. 225.)
	{ 640.	(Severus, p. 231.)
Theodorus	641.	(Joh. Nik. 111.)

16. For the first six years of the reign of Heraclius, there seems to have been unwonted peace in Egypt between the rival Christian Churches. The Melkite patriarch Theodore had been killed at the capture of Alexandria by the troops of Niketas, and his successor, John the Almoner, won the admiration of all parties by his generous distribution of charity. Niketas as prefect also appears to have pursued a policy of reconciliation.

17. It is possible that the government at Constantinople had recognised that the authority of the emperor in Egypt was seriously weakened by his identification with an unpopular Church, and that a compromise with the Monophysites was of high political importance. But if Niketas had any such scheme in view, he had not time to carry it into effect before he was dispossessed of his control of Egypt by the invasion of the Persians. When Heraclius was recognised as emperor, they had captured Antioch, and they gradually worked southwards through Syria and Palestine, whence great crowds of refugees fled to Egypt. They took the usual line of invasion by Pelusium and up the eastern side of the Delta to Babylon, and then down the western side to Alexandria ; and no serious resistance seems to have been offered to their advance till they reached the

walls of the great city. Here they were held up for some months, during which they devastated the surrounding country; but they were unable to take Alexandria until a party was introduced by the aid of a traitor and captured one of the gates by night. Niketas and the patriarch had already withdrawn, probably realising the impossibility of holding out when no help was forthcoming from Constantinople; and the city was sacked and many of the inhabitants massacred.

18. Similar massacres are reported to have occurred at various points in Upper Egypt as the Persian forces marched up the Nile, although there is no trace of any armed resistance to them. But when their authority was definitely established, it would appear that they adopted a more tolerant policy, and allowed the Jacobite patriarch to reside at Alexandria.

19. The Persian rule in Egypt lasted for about ten years, until the successful campaigns of Heraclius in Syria and Mesopotamia compelled the withdrawal of ^[627 A.D.] their forces, which were shortly replaced by a Roman garrison sent to re-establish the imperial authority in the country. Unfortunately, however, Heraclius resumed the policy of Justinian in uniting the offices of prefect and patriarch, and chose in Cyrus an ecclesiastic ^[631 A.D.] who was zealously opposed to the Monophysite tenets of the Egyptians. Attempts were made by the emperor to find a formula which would embody a statement of doctrine acceptable to both parties, but he succeeded in satisfying neither; and when the Egyptians rejected the terms of compromise issued by Heraclius, Cyrus set to work to coerce them into uniformity by the exercise of his powers as prefect. The only result of importance was that he estranged the people more completely than ever from the empire.

20. Meanwhile the new danger to the Eastern Empire which had arisen among the Arab tribes under the influence of the teaching of Mohammed was drawing nearer to the frontiers of Egypt. The Muslims had driven the Romans out of Syria and Palestine; and

although it would appear that they were deterred from
 637 A.D.] advancing southwards immediately after their capture
 of Jerusalem by the strength of the defences established
 by Cyrus, it was only some two years later that the
 Arab general 'Amr-ibn-al-'Asî obtained a reluctant
 639 A.D. consent from the Caliph to the invasion of Egypt, and
 Dec.] set out with an army of not more than four thousand
 men.

21. The small force of 'Amr took a month to reduce
 40 A.D., the frontier fortress of Pelusium, but after this met no
 Jan.] serious resistance, passing through the desert on the
 east of the Delta, till it reached Bilbeis. Here a good
 deal of fighting occurred, and another month passed
 before the town was captured; after which 'Amr
 approached the great fortress of Babylon, where the
 main forces of the Romans were concentrated. He
 was not strong enough to assault it, so he crossed the
 river and made a rapid raid on the Fayûm, the superior
 mobility of his forces enabling him to evade the pursuit
 of the Roman generals, while he could isolate and
 destroy small detachments of their army. He returned
 640 A.D., successfully to make a junction at Heliopolis with
 June] substantial reinforcements numbering about twelve
 thousand men sent by the Caliph; and with these he
 met the Roman army and totally defeated it. The
 survivors of it took refuge in the fortress of Babylon,
 where they were blockaded, while 'Amr overran the
 Fayûm, the garrisons of which fled down the river.

22. His next move was against the Delta, where he
 reduced some towns, but failed to capture Nikiou before
 the rise of the river forced him to suspend further
 operations in the field and return to complete the
 blockade of Babylon. Here he spent the winter; but,
 although he began to be aided by the native Egyptians,
 he did not make much progress towards the taking of
 640 A.D., the fortress; and he entered into negotiations with
 Oct.] Cyrus, who was in command of the garrison, which
 resulted in the drafting of a treaty of surrender. This
 required the approval of the emperor; but when Cyrus
 went to Constantinople to obtain this and explain the

situation, his action was repudiated and he was deposed from his office and sent into exile. So the blockade continued till the death of Heraclius.

[641 A.D.,
Feb.

HERACLIUS II. CONSTANTINUS.

641.

Prefect.

Theodorus See under Heraclius I.

23. It was little more than a month after this that Babylon fell: an Arab assault carried part of the ramparts, and the garrison capitulated and withdrew down the Nile to Alexandria. 'Amr was now free to turn his undivided attention to the Delta, and he advanced northwards along the western branch of the river. He encountered some resistance, but the Roman generals were incompetent, and the strong position of Nikiou was thrown away by the flight of its commander.

[641 A.D.,
Apr.

HERACLONAS.

641.

Prefect.

Theodorus See under Heraclius I.

24. The Roman armies were seemingly better than their leaders, and they fought stubbornly at several points as they fell back on Alexandria, the last battle at Kariûn extending over ten days; but 'Amr's troops won their way through, and encamped outside Alexandria, from which centre they harried the Delta.

[641 A.D.,
June

25. Meanwhile intrigues at Constantinople paralysed the imperial government and prevented any effective relief being sent to Egypt. But Cyrus, the deposed patriarch and prefect, managed to secure restoration at any rate to the patriarchate, and set out for Alexandria, on the way joining Theodorus the prefect, who had been summoned to give advice to the emperor, at Rhodes; and they returned together. They found the Alexandrians torn by faction: Domentianus and Menas,

[641 A.D.,
Sept.

the two leading commanders left in the city, had quarrelled until they came to open conflict; and there seemed little prospect of organising a successful resistance to the Arabs or of saving the Roman power in Egypt. So Cyrus went up to Babylon, where he found 'Amr recently returned from an expedition through Upper Egypt, which had submitted to him without resistance, the Roman garrison escaping to Alexandria; and there a treaty was concluded, which provided that tribute should be paid by the Alexandrians, and that the Roman forces should evacuate Alexandria in eleven months, on condition that in the meantime there should be a cessation of hostilities, and that the Jews and Christians should thereafter remain unmolested.

641 A.D.,
Nov.]

CONSTANS II.

641-668.

Prefect.

Theodorus See under Heraclius I.

26. In accordance with the agreement, there was no further fighting at Alexandria, though isolated towns in the Delta still held out and had to be reduced by the Arabs: at the expiration of the specified time Theodorus and his troops withdrew from Alexandria, and the Roman empire in Egypt was ended.

642 A.D.,
Sept.]

27. There is comparatively little evidence for judging of the general state of Egypt during the last century of its government by the Romans, though papyri are commoner from this period than from the preceding one, and one large group of documents gives a fairly good idea of the conditions in the district of Aphrodito, while other finds throw light on Oxyrhynchos and its inhabitants. But the impression produced by reading these is one of hopeless chaos and depression. The territorial magnates mentioned in the last chapter had consolidated their power, and the highest local offices became practically hereditary appanages in their families, as for instance that of dux of the Thebaid

in the house of Apion. The country population were their serfs, and depended on them not only for their livelihood, but for the regulation of such social matters as justice and protection. Instances have been given above of the lawlessness which prevailed in some districts, and it may be suspected that these were districts where there was no powerful lord to keep the peace among his neighbours: at any rate there is no sign of any effective control by the central government.

28. The position of the great landholders was possibly enhanced in its importance by the widening of the breach between the two sections of the Christian Church in Egypt, which resulted from the policy of Justinian. When the Melkite patriarch of Alexandria became virtually prefect as well, with the imperial troops at his call to aid him in enforcing his doctrines on schismatics, there would be a community of interest created between the native Jacobite Churches who desired protection against the theological domination of Constantinople and the local magnates who sought to make themselves virtually independent of the control of the emperor's representatives. There is no definite evidence on the point, but some of the expressions used in sixth century papyri suggest that the landowners were regarded as patrons of the Churches as well as of the population of their districts.

29. Some slight traces of revival of trade under Justinian may be found in his missions to the Arabian and Abyssinian kingdoms, which still kept up the connexions with India and Æthiopia; and the reform of the Byzantine currency by Anastasius began to show its effects in Egypt when Justinian reintroduced a special Alexandrian coinage of bronze, which continued to be issued till the Arab conquest. But it may be doubted whether the external trade concerned any part of the country outside Alexandria, except in so far as the villagers were engaged in raising corn to be shipped to Constantinople; and in the rural districts corn remained almost the only currency of Egypt.

CHAPTER VII

THE ORGANISATION OF EGYPT UNDER THE ROMANS

(1) 30 B.C.—200 A.D.

1. THE conquest of Egypt by the Romans caused no immediate change of importance in the internal organisation of the country. It had been the general policy of Roman statesmen, during the period of the expansion of their rule over the East, to interfere as little as possible with the existing institutions of any country which possessed a fully developed system of local government when it was added to their empire; and there was a special reason in the case of Egypt for adhering to this line of policy. This land was, in a sense, the spoil of Augustus; while the older provinces in Macedonia, Asia, and Syria had been won from foreign kings for the Republic by its generals and with its armies, Egypt was the fruit of his victory over a Roman rival, albeit a recreant to Roman ideas; and, as the personal property of that rival's wife, could be confiscated for the private benefit of the victor. The statement of Augustus, preserved in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, that he added Egypt to the Empire of the Roman people, was true only in a modified sense: the nominal representatives of the Roman people, the senate, were not consulted with regard to the government of the province.

2. The elaborate system of local administration which had been gradually developed by the Greek kings was therefore taken over bodily by Augustus. In all probability the lower grades of officials were

left to complete their terms of office: even in so high a rank as that of epistrategos there is found a Greek, Ptolemaios, the son of Herakleides, thirteen years after the conquest; and, as in later times that post was regularly filled by a Roman, it may be presumed that Ptolemaios had continued in his post undisturbed by the change of dynasty. For in fact the Roman conquest of Egypt amounted to little more than a change of dynasty, and was attended by far less disturbance in internal affairs than had often been caused by the transference of power from one house to another in Pharaonic times.

3. In the course which Augustus chose to follow with regard to the government of Egypt, he was guided partly by his personal claim and partly by considerations of prudence. The revenues of the Nile valley were among the most important items in the imperial finance: without them Augustus would hardly have been in a position to relieve the overburdened fiscus at Rome; in particular, he required the corn-supplies from Alexandria to feed the populace. From a practical point of view, this consideration was one of the most important for the stability of an emperor: it was possible for anyone who held Egypt to starve Rome to his side by simply stopping the export of corn from Alexandria, as Vespasian proposed to do. Furthermore, Egypt was difficult of access, especially from Rome; the harbour of Alexandria was the only one available for large vessels on the Mediterranean coast; and the approaches by land across the deserts, from either east or west, presented serious obstacles to any large body of troops. The history of the Hellenistic kingdoms had shown that Egypt was, by reason of its isolated situation and its internal wealth, a more natural and convenient unit for separate administration than any other area in the Near East; and consequently it was important for Augustus to take precautions against revolt, the suppression of which might involve special difficulties. Also the temper of the Egyptians was uncertain and

often fanatical. Alexandria, with a mixed crowd of various races and beliefs, was the most serious danger-spot, as there were standing feuds, especially between the Greeks and Jews, which blazed up from time to time on slight provocation into street fights; but in the upper country too the natives on occasion carried their local disputes to the point of massed attacks by one village on another; and from such small beginnings there was always a risk of graver troubles arising, unless prompt and vigorous measures were taken to suppress them. It was therefore essential that Egypt should be administered under a system which would eliminate any danger of delay in dealing with sudden emergencies; and Augustus naturally adopted autocratic rule as the best solution of the problem.

(a) *Central Administration.*

4. Egypt was therefore treated as the personal domain of the Roman emperor; and from him, directly or indirectly, all Egyptian officials held their posts. But it was only a few high functionaries in the central administration, whose headquarters were at Alexandria, who were sent from Rome: the great mass of the work was done by residents or natives selected locally. These high posts were filled normally by Romans of equestrian rank: to guard against the possibility of senatorial interference, no member of the senate was allowed to take office, or even to set foot without the special leave of the emperor, in Egypt. The appointments were made by the emperor, and the tenure was at his pleasure. Apparently there was no definite period of office contemplated, and the list of prefects which has been pieced together from various sources, although it is rarely possible to find an exact date for the beginning or end of a man's service, shows that the length of their stay varied widely: one instance is recorded in which a prefect remained for sixteen years, but the average time was much shorter.

5. The highest post was that of the prefect, who was

practically a viceroy, and took most of the part formerly played in the scheme of administration by the Greek kings: he was, in fact, so far regarded as a royal personage that, like the old Pharaohs, he was not permitted to voyage on the Nile during the flood. He was invested with proconsular powers, and was head of every branch of the government, financial, judicial, and military, subject only to the final decision of the emperor. The total sum to be raised by taxation was determined at Rome; but the prefect was responsible for the collection and transmission of the proceeds in money or kind, and consequently for the local assessments. He was the final court of appeal for claims of exemption made by communities or individuals, and a special instance of his activities is found in the edicts issued to check the exactions of the tax-collectors, which tended to diminish the revenues of the State. His judicial competence embraced all classes of cases, both civil and criminal: pleas could be addressed directly to him, or could be referred to him after preliminary investigation by lower officials; but the power of decision was frequently delegated to his subordinates. For the purposes of his general administration he went on circuit annually, the normal dates and places for his assizes being apparently about Midsummer at Alexandria, January at Pelusium, and the early spring at Memphis: at each place he would deal with questions, either legal or civil, from certain parts of the country. He paid visits of inspection to other places, of which records exist in various connexions, but these do not seem to have followed a regular plan like the circuit: they would be arranged according to the special need or convenience of the occasion. Probably they were sometimes determined by his military duties, as all the troops in Egypt were under his control; and, although his orders in such matters as the enlistment, transfer, and discharge of soldiers could normally be issued from headquarters at Alexandria, a personal inspection of the stations throughout the country would be desirable. From Alexandria also

would be sent the administrative edicts dealing with official inquiries and returns, such as the periodical census-lists and registrations of property, as well as special statements, as for instance of land which had not been irrigated in years when the inundation of the Nile was low. He was not allowed to leave the country, and at the end of his service had to await the arrival of his successor: in the event of a sudden vacancy arising through death or any other cause, his duties were discharged by a deputy, normally another of the high Roman officials, such as the *dikaiodotes*.

6. The *dikaiodotes* was the immediate subordinate of the prefect in judicial matters: it is not clear whether he had an independent power of jurisdiction, or derived his competence by delegation from the prefect; but it is probable that he was in effect the highest legal authority in Egypt. The prefects were not chosen from a class of men amongst whom a knowledge of law could be assumed, and in many cases would require the assistance of an expert for the proper performance of their duties as judges. The *dikaiodotes* could act thus as the prefect's assessor, and filled the place taken by *legati iuridici* in other provinces of the empire. Like the prefect, he could delegate the investigation of cases to lower magistrates.

7. On the financial side of the administration there were two officials of a rank corresponding to that of the *dikaiodotes*, both of whom inherited their titles from the Ptolemaic court, though probably with some change of functions: these were the *idiologos* and the *dioiketes*. The Ptolemaic *dioiketes* had been the supreme finance officer of the kingdom, while the *idiologos* had dealt as his subordinate with the affairs of the royal privy purse. Under the Roman administration the position of the *dioiketes* theoretically passed to the prefect, and the bearer of the title was relegated to the second rank. He was probably on the same level as the *idiologos*, and it is not possible to define the exact relations of the two: the *idiologos* is known to have administered property which passed to the *fiscus* in default of heirs

or otherwise, while an edict issued by a dioiketes shows that he exercised the general supervision over public works which had been one of the most important functions of his Ptolemaic predecessor. Generally it may be assumed that these officers, besides acting as the technical assistants of the prefect in financial matters, would serve as an independent check on his proceedings in the interests of the emperor. The idiologos had also a special province in regard to the property and revenue of the temples, which were placed under his supervision ; and in this capacity he was titular high-priest of all Egypt.

8. The determination of the extent of the authority exercised by the dioiketes is made more difficult by the loose use of the name for officers of lower rank. These may be to some extent identical with the procurators or epitropoi, as a similar looseness of usage prevailed in regard to this title: generally they seem to have been minor functionaries operating in direct touch with the central administration at Alexandria, though often actually in the country. Definite duties can be attributed to the procurator of Neapolis, whose headquarters were at the granaries near Alexandria where corn was collected for shipment to Rome, but who had general control of the arrangements for the transport of grain from the interior ; and to the procurator usiacus, who was the immediate subordinate of the idiologos both in his supervision of the revenues and in his direction of the estates of the temples. But a reference to the procurator ad diœcesin Alexandria, or the still vaguer procurator Cæsaris, gives little guide to the standing or work of the official in question. The procurators seem in some instances to have been imperial freedmen, and one early mention of a dioiketes shows the title applied to a Greek: he may have been a survival from the Ptolemaic service.

9. For the purposes of general administration, the whole of Egypt was divided into three dioceses, the Thebaid, the Heptanomis with the Arsinoite nome, and the Delta—*i.e.* Upper, Middle, and Lower Egypt ;

and each of the three was placed under an epistrategos. This name was derived from the Ptolemaic system ; but, whereas the Ptolemaic epistrategos had been primarily a military officer, in Roman times the functions were purely civil : further, in Ptolemaic times only the Thebaid had been under an epistrategos, while epistrategoi for all three divisions of the country occur early in the Roman period, and it is probable that the change was part of the reorganisation by Augustus. It does not appear that the epistrategoi had any local centres of government in their dioceses : it is quite possible that they directed affairs from Alexandria ; but they went on circuit regularly. They were immediately subordinate to the prefect, and derived most of their powers by delegation from him, especially in judicial matters, where they could only decide cases by special authority from him, though they could receive and investigate pleas. They did not take any direct part in the fiscal administration, except to hear appeals against wrong assessments or similar errors. They had, however, a more important place in regard to the selection of men for liturgic offices : this was done by lot from lists of candidates submitted by the local authorities, and, at any rate in respect of the lower grades, such as village-scribes or tax-collectors, their decision seems to have been final : it is probable that appointments of officers whose functions extended over a wider field, such as the strategoi of the nomes, had to be confirmed by the prefect. Certain revenues are specified as being allocated to meeting the expenses of the epistrategos : the payments in all known cases were made by priests, and apparently were a tax on trades pursued in the temples.

(b) *Higher Local Government.*

10. The next unit in administration below the epistrategia was the nome, an old-standing organisation, with its centre of government at the metropolis : the country districts were not subordinate to the metropolis, which rather corresponded to an English county-town.

The chief officials of the nome were selected by the prefect on the nomination of the epistrategos, normally for a period of three years: instances of longer tenure of office occur, but these may have been due to special exigencies. The names of the holders are commonly Greek, but occasionally Roman: they seem to have been chosen out of the upper classes of the population, and as a rule to have been men of substance: it is probable that the strategoi, and possible that the royal scribes, were appointed to serve in nomes other than those in which they were normally resident.

11. The strategos of a nome ranked next to the epistrategos, from whom he received his instructions except in matters of finance, upon which he communicated directly with the financial officials at Alexandria. His functions extended to all branches of the civil government, and the frequency with which the strategos is mentioned in papyri shows that he held the most conspicuous place in the local government of the country. On the legal side, he acted as head of police, and had authority to receive complaints and to arrest offenders; he could make a preliminary investigation of a case and take evidence on oath; but he had no competence to deliver judgment, and any pleas which he could not settle by agreement were referred with a summary of the facts to a higher court, which might be either that of the prefect on his circuit of assize or one of those at Alexandria. Instructions might, however, be given to him by the prefect or other high legal authority to decide a case upon the evidence found. In regard to finance, the strategos was responsible for the whole machinery of taxation in his district, including assessment and collection, as well as the letting of state lands and monopolies. He also had to arrange the incidence of various minor liturgies, amongst which was the *corvée* for the maintenance of dykes and canals, and to honour requisitions for supplies from the military authorities. In his capacity as a finance officer, he received copies of all census-returns, whether of land, persons, or animals.

He was required, on entry into office, to give up all other work and to provide security for the proper observance of his duties, besides taking an oath to act according to law; and at the close of his term his accounts were subject to audit before the prefect. He had no military function: on one occasion a strategos appears to have led a body of men in some local fighting, but this was during the Jewish rising of Hadrian's reign, when a kind of militia may have been raised among the natives and officered by the magistrates of the nomes. The post of the strategos was a salaried one, though the amount of the pay is not recorded: it was apparently drawn from the revenue of the district on authorisation from Alexandria; but it was probably insufficient to cover the expenses, and several complaints are preserved concerning illicit gains and exactions by strategoi. While the normal unit of administration was the nome, instances occur in which two nomes were directed by one strategos, or one nome shared between two: these may sometimes have been temporary arrangements, but in the Arsinoite nome, which was organised in three divisions, it was the usual practice for two of these to be placed under one strategos and the third under another.

12. The "royal scribe" was closely associated with the strategos, but was probably independent, though of lower grade: in the event of the absence of a strategos, or a temporary vacancy in the office, the royal scribe usually acted as deputy. He was specially concerned with the financial side of the local administration, receiving returns of all kinds relating to persons or property, reports from collectors of taxes, and proposals for leases. It may be assumed that he was intended to exercise a check on the proceedings of the strategos in such matters: certain taxes were appropriated in aid of his salary, which would possibly contribute to secure the independence of his position. Both of these officers had been continued from the Ptolemaic system with seemingly little change of function or of relation one to another.

13. The records of the nome were kept by the bibliophylakes, with whom copies of all official documents were deposited, and who received notice of all changes affecting the ownership or tenure of land, together with periodical returns from the landholders of the nome describing their property. The record-office was divided into two departments, one concerned with the work of land-registry, the other with the financial statements of the nome: as a rule, there were two keepers in each department. They acted under the strategos, and ranked after the royal scribe; but, unlike these officials, they seem, at any rate in the second century, to have been conscripted for duty, and held their post as a liturgy in their home-district.

(c) *Local Government of the Villages.*

14. The whole area of the land in each nome was mapped out into villages: the closest equivalent in modern terminology would be parishes; and, as in the case of an English parish, the extent of the territory allotted to each village seems to have been determined on principles which cannot now be discerned, but probably arose from accidents of history. The village formed a unit for purposes of taxation, and possessed a certain communal existence, but no corporate powers. So far as it had any local government, this was in the hands of the elders, a body of varying numbers, in one instance as many as thirty, who acted as intermediaries for the payment of taxes on behalf of their village and controlled the cultivation of its lands: they could be called upon to find workmen or recruits for the service of the State; and they were held liable by the authorities of the nome for the peace of the village, for which purpose they had to act in conjunction with the local police. The manner of their appointment is not clear: they seem to have come into existence in Roman times as a development from the Ptolemaic "elders of the cultivators," and may owe their origin to the desire of the Roman government to find additional local

security for the payment of the village taxes, as there was a personal responsibility in this respect attached to the office, and the elders could be called upon to make up arrears. In all probability the service was compulsory as a liturgy on the property-owning classes of the village: the period of it was normally one year.

15. While the community was represented by the elders, the State was represented by the village-scribe, an officer who was continued from the Ptolemaic system. It was he who was ultimately responsible for the supply of all the various items of information required by the central government for purposes of taxation: he drew up lists of the inhabitants of the village, their several holdings of land, the extent to and manner in which each holding was cultivated, and generally gave all the particulars necessary for the assessment of each individual. It was also his duty to supply the names of men suitable to be appointed to the liturgies of the village, one of which was his own office, the village-scribe being chosen by the strategos by lot from the list of candidates submitted by his predecessor, and serving for a period of three years. As a rule, each village had its own village-scribe; but instances occur in which one scribe was in charge of two or three villages. There was an appropriation of certain taxes to meet his expenses.

(d) *Local Government of the Towns.*

16. The metropolis or county-town of each nome occupied a more distinguished position than the villages, as the seat of the nome-government, and usually the economic and religious focus of the district. But in the earlier period of the Roman empire it had no municipal autonomy: the taxation and the police of the towns were controlled, like those of the villages, by the strategos of the nome. Magistrates existed, with various specialised duties in regard to the welfare of the town; but they did not act as a college before 200 A.D., nor had they any definite order of precedence.

In the first instance the posts, which were annual, appear each to have been undertaken voluntarily by one of the wealthier members of the community, who was prepared, in return for the honour of office, to meet the expenses involved in securing the comfort or pleasure of his fellows; but as time went on, and it became more difficult to find men able and willing to bear the burden, the liability was divided by appointing several for each function, and nominations to an office were made by the body of those who had held such office: these nominations were subject to ratification by the strategos, and seem also to have been submitted for approbation to a meeting of the townspeople.

17. The magistracy which generally was regarded as most distinguished was that of the gymnasiarch, who was responsible for the upkeep of the gymnasium, an expensive matter in a town with a number of Hellenised inhabitants: it would involve, besides the lighting of the buildings, the water-supply, and the heating of the baths, the provision of oil for the users of the gymnasium, and the organisation of games. There were in some cases apparently local endowments in aid of the expenses, and certain supplies might be requisitioned, such as fuel for heating; but there is evidence that the gymnasiarchs had to bear a substantial outlay. They were rewarded by special insignia—a fillet and white shoes—and were attended by guards: the title of gymnasiarch for life was sometimes conferred, probably in return for special gifts.

18. Other magistrates of the same class were the exegetes, who exercised a general supervision over the status of the inhabitants, presiding over the entry of ephebes on the lists and assigning guardians to women or tutors to minors, and ranked as a priest, with the added distinction of a crown and attendant guards; the eutheniarch, who was responsible for the local food-supplies, especially corn and bread, and had the same honours as the exegetes, though not the priestly title; the kosmetes, who was concerned with

the training of the ephebes, and was attended by guards; and the agoranomos, whose functions were those of a notary. A high-priest of the city also appears in the group of city-magistrates: it is not clear how far his control extended, but probably he was only supreme over the worship of the imperial house, and had no authority in respect of the native cults.

19. The representative of the State in the town administration was the scribe of the metropolis, who corresponded to the village-scribe in his duties and manner of appointment: owing presumably to the heavier work involved, there were usually two scribes in a metropolis instead of one only as in the villages. Another officer who occurs in connexion with town-finance was the exetastes, who may have been a checking-clerk responsible on behalf of the State for watching the money that passed through the hands of the magistrates.

20. Various other titles are found in the records of the towns, but they seem to relate only to temporary appointments for special purposes: one as to which some definite information exists may be taken as an example, that of epimeletes. The epimeletai were nominated to supervise public works, such as the erection of buildings or statues on behalf of the town: their number varied, probably according to need—in one case the body consisted of six members.

(e) *Government of Greek Cities.*

21. The only towns which possessed anything approaching autonomy in local government during the first two centuries were the three Greek foundations of Alexandria, Naukratis, and Ptolemais-Hermiou, together with the city of Antinoopolis created by Hadrian after a Greek model. The evidence as to their constitutions is scanty, but sufficient to show that they all had special privileges, though of different kinds, the differences being due to circumstances of origin or history.

22. Alexandria stood entirely apart from the rest of the country, and, both officially and popularly, was regarded as distinct from Egypt: it was not included in the nome-organisation, and had a special body of magistrates. There is reason to suppose that it had been governed by a senate under the Greek kings; but this privilege was withdrawn by Augustus, who probably recognised the fact that it was essential to keep the turbulent population of Alexandria under the immediate control of the Roman governor, and to leave no organisation there which might serve as a focus for revolutions. The inhabitants continued to enjoy the name of citizens, and the Alexandrian citizenship carried with it certain privileges, of which the most important was that an Egyptian could only attain to the Roman citizenship through the Alexandrian: they were also exempt from the poll-tax and liturgies, but in this respect the Greek inhabitants of the metropoleis of the nomes were on a similar footing: they were organised in tribes and demes. The magistrates who are found in the towns—gymnasiarch, exegetes, eutheniarch, kosmetes, agoranomos, and high-priest—also occur at Alexandria, probably with similar functions; but in addition to these there were others whose position calls for special consideration.

23. According to Strabo, the local magistrates at Alexandria were the exegetes, the hypomnematographos, the archidikastes, and the night strategos. The exegetes was perhaps chosen as representative of the group just mentioned, as in some official documents he seems to be ranked first among the town-magistrates: the other three had closer relations with the central government. Under the Ptolemaic system, the hypomnematographos and archidikastes had been State officers, apparently with competence over the whole country; and in Roman times, though they had their official seats at Alexandria, they did not deal only with local matters. Their principal function, so far as records show, was to act as delegates of the prefect in judicial matters; and it seems probable that they were

regarded as belonging to the province rather than the city: the archidikastes had a permanent state duty in the care of the central archives at Alexandria, in which copies of all legal documents from the nomes were deposited. The night strategos was head of the police, which probably came under the direct control of the Roman authorities: as in other capital cities, the central government would find it desirable to keep the local police arrangements in their own hands: in any case, he was not a municipal magistrate.

24. There is no direct evidence as to the organisation of Naukratis, either in Ptolemaic or in early Roman times, though stray references show that it had some form of municipal government. But from the statement that the constitution of Antinoopolis was modelled on that of Naukratis, it may be inferred that Naukratis possessed a senate in the time of Hadrian, and that this was the ancient organisation, which had been left undisturbed at the time of the Roman conquest: there would not be any danger to Roman rule likely to arise from the continued existence of an interesting archaic relic.

25. It is probable that the Romans allowed Ptolemais also to retain the senate which it certainly possessed under the Ptolemies: Strabo refers to the Hellenic constitution of the city, and in the first century the archons appear as acting jointly through their prytaneis: the citizens were organized in tribes and demes. It was the metropolis of the Thinite nome; but this meant only that it was the seat of the nome-government, which probably had no direct concern with the affairs of the city.

26. The evidence concerning Antinoopolis is rather fuller. It was definitely planned as a "Greek" city by Hadrian, the lay-out being in the rectangular blocks which had been the fashion among Hellenistic architects, and the constitution, as already mentioned, was copied from that of the oldest Greek foundation in Egypt, Naukratis. The citizens of the new city were drawn from various quarters: many were army

veterans, but the neighbouring city of Ptolemais was also called upon to furnish settlers, and probably Egyptians were accepted, as a special provision was introduced into the constitution to authorise inter-marriage between Antinoites and Egyptians. There was a senate there from the first: the presidency was held in turn by prytaneis; and the gymnasiarch and other magistrates of his group were found at Antinopolis. The city, like Ptolemais, was the seat of the government of the surrounding nome.

(f) *Taxation Officials.*

27. Reference has already been made to the financial side of the duties of the higher authorities, and the transmission of directions in regard to taxation from the prefect, under whom were the idiologos and dioiketes, to the strategos. Below the strategos there was in each nome an elaborate organisation for the assessment, collection, and banking of the taxes, which had been taken over from the Ptolemaic system, but underwent considerable modification early in the Roman period in ways which illustrate the general trend of Roman administration.

28. Amongst the Ptolemaic survivals were a few who never seem to have taken an organic place in the first Roman scheme: these were the nomarch, the toparch, and the topogrammateus. The nomarch had originally been the chief civil officer of the nome, while the strategos was the military commander; but the strategos had gradually absorbed more civil power, and when, after the Roman conquest, he lost all military authority, he entirely supplanted the nomarch, who was only retained as a subordinate officer for supervising the assessment and collection of various taxes, together with some special duties in connexion with the transport of corn: with the lowering of rank, the number of holders of the office was increased, and two or more nomarchs served together in the district where one had formerly been supreme. The toparch

and his scribe are even more indefinite figures : the toparch had been at first an executive officer dealing with financial questions, and holding his post for several years, while the topogrammateus acted as his clerk and kept the records ; but the toparch gradually passed into the class of holders of liturgies, and the topogrammateus disappeared.

29. The detailed assessment of taxes was apparently done in the office of the idiologos at Alexandria, on the basis of returns made from each district through the strategos and royal scribe ; but several classes of local officials were concerned with the correctness of these returns. Some, such as the epikrites and laographos, dealt with questions of liability to the poll-tax ; others investigated surveys for the land-taxes, the geometres seemingly dealing with the survey proper, the horio-deiktēs with boundaries, and the episkeptēs with changes of ownership or cultivation. The two latter are found acting in commissions, membership of which seems to have been a liturgy ; and it is possible that such commissions were empanelled from the inhabitants of a district to serve as a local court of appeal for the determination of disputed points in regard to assessments. More elaborate machinery would of course be required to secure an equitable taxation in regard to land than in regard to persons : for the poll-tax all that was required was a list of persons who had not proved a claim to exemption and were of the statutory age : the amount of the land-taxes on any particular property would be affected by a number of circumstances which would be likely to vary from year to year, and the results of which might be a matter of argument.

30. The work of collecting the taxes, except the land-tax, was farmed out under the Ptolemies ; but during the later years of their rule it had sometimes been difficult to find farmers, and measures of compulsion had to be used. The Roman emperors do not seem to have deliberately abandoned the policy of farming the taxes : in fact, some prefects attempted to secure its continuation by the issue of edicts framed with a view

to lightening the burden of the farmers ; and cases of the collection of taxes, especially indirect taxes such as customs-duties, by this method occur till the end of the second century. But the stricter supervision exercised over the method of raising revenue, in the interests of the provincials, by Augustus and Tiberius would tend to render the position of the tax-farmers less profitable ; and it is noteworthy that it is in the reign of Tiberius, who directed the prefect of Egypt to shear, not to flay, his sheep, that the first definite example of the collection of taxes in Egypt by praktores instead of by farmers occurs. The title of the praktor was derived from a Ptolemaic official, whose functions, however, were restricted to a special type of collection, and who was apparently a civil servant : the Roman praktores dealt with all branches of taxation, whether in money or in kind, and were liturgists. They were divided into groups, according to the taxes which they had to collect—poll-tax, corn-tax, bath-tax, and so forth ; and they were chosen by the strategos from a list of names of the inhabitants of each village, of sufficient income, supplied by the village-scribe, the choice being ratified by the epistrategos. The men so chosen were at liberty to apportion the duty of collection in their village among themselves, as they pleased ; but they were responsible jointly and severally for the payment of a prescribed sum, and, if they could not raise it from the persons liable, they had to make it up themselves. The normal period of office was for three years, and monthly returns of the amounts realised were furnished to the strategos, as well as reports to the central office at Alexandria : the proceeds of collection, if in money, were paid into the public bank, if in kind, into the public granary. There was apparently an allowance paid for the expenses of collection, but it was evidently insufficient to make the duty a tolerable one, as several instances are recorded in which praktores tried to alleviate their burden by extortion of more than was due from the taxpayers or by running away from their homes.

31. Side by side with the praktores are found other bodies of officials dealing with tax-collection, whose relation to them and to one another is not clear: the apaitetai are first mentioned as collectors of arrears of direct taxes, but in other cases deal with current payments: the paralemptai appear to have had duties in regard to the annona; and the epiteretai sometimes acted as inspectors, sometimes as actual collectors. These were apparently all groups of local residents; and it seems possible that they formed additional meshes in the net which the Roman government cast round the taxpayers: to make sure that the full sum was obtained, special committees were compelled to supervise the collectors and make good any failure on their part.

32. A further safeguard of the interests of the treasury was provided by the managers of the public banks and granaries into which the proceeds of the taxes were paid. These institutions had existed, with similar functions in regard to all local income and expenditure on behalf of the State, under the Ptolemies; but, whereas the Ptolemaic trapezitai and sitologoi had been members of the royal civil service, their places were taken in Roman times by colleges of men bearing the same titles, who were nominated to act as managers of the local bank or granary for a period. The responsibilities of these colleges went beyond the ordinary functions of management, as they had not only to receive what was brought to them by the tax-collectors, but to verify that the full amount of the assessment was paid in, and to make good personally any deficiency that might occur. It is not clear that their office was a liturgy at the beginning of the empire, but it had certainly become such early in the second century.

(g) *Police.*

33. Under the Ptolemies the country had been policed by the phylakitai, a gendarmerie organised on military principles; and this force continued to act for a few years after the Roman conquest, traces of it occurring

as late as the second century in the Delta. But it was presently superseded by a dual system, which placed the responsibility for the maintenance of order partly on guards appointed locally, who formed a kind of special constabulary, partly on the Roman army. The latter body, though it would only be represented in a district by a small picket detailed for special duty, was probably of much more effective value than the native guards; and the officer in command of a picket, usually a centurion, received complaints from injured parties and directed the arrest of offenders: he sometimes issued instructions to the village police.

34. Alexandria, as already noted, had a special police of its own: in the rest of the province the civil police force was organised on the basis of the town or village unit: in the towns, it was under the direct command of the strategos, whom it was probably found desirable to place in charge of public security at the seat of his administration, just as in Alexandria the guardians of the peace were responsible immediately to the central government; but in the villages there was a special official, entitled archepodos, who was the recognised chief of police, and ranked with the elders, with whom he acted in the preservation of order. The post of the archepodos was a liturgy, probably held for a year: he had no judicial power, though he occasionally appears as a conciliator in disputes: he arrested criminals on orders from above and published edicts.

35. The general body of civil police were known as phylakes, but special titles were often attached to those detailed for particular services, such as the palæstra, the prison, or the desert-roads. All alike seem to have been nominated for service in their own districts, probably for a year, and had to take an oath of service and find sureties for the proper performance of their duties.

36. The general impression produced by a survey of the administrative system of Egypt during the first two centuries of Roman rule is one of a highly complicated machine with carefully balanced controls and counter-checks designed primarily for the purpose of exacting

the greatest possible amount of revenue out of the country. It was the desire of the State to secure peace and prosperity, because peace and prosperity meant more income to the State; there is no sign of any real regard for the welfare of the people. And the inhabitants of Egypt had no voice in their own government: if they were allowed to hold offices in their towns or villages, it was only that they might at their personal expense supply the place of a paid civil service or become guarantors for the taxes due from the community. Two or three cities enjoyed a nominal form of municipal autonomy, but they were too insignificant to be noticed: Alexandria, the greatest city in the world after Rome, was deprived of its senate and kept under the autocratic rule of the foreigners, with their legions encamped at its gates to secure its obedience.

37. The higher officials who have been mentioned had their subordinate staffs, who appear under various names, the commonest being *cheiristai*, *boethoi*, *hyperetai*, and *grammateis*, but of whose functions or organisation little is definitely known. It may be assumed that they performed minor executive and clerical duties, and, at any rate in the central offices at Alexandria, formed something like a permanent civil service: there is some trace of a division into sections for dealing with individual *nomes*, which is a natural form of organisation, in the case of the bureau of the *idiologos*. The local magistrates seem to have engaged and paid their own subordinates, and the rates of salary vary widely: presumably each man employed such help as he required or desired, and the pay was determined by the nature and amount of the work delegated.

(2) THE THIRD CENTURY A.D.

38. The first two centuries of Roman rule saw a steady increase in the application of the principle of compulsion to office, and by the middle of the second century it was the normal rule for the eligible inhabitants of a town or village to be called upon to fill the local

magistracies. There may have been some theory of rotation in service, and nominally a man who had completed a term was allowed a respite of three years before he could be required to act again: also certain classes were exempt, amongst them Roman citizens and army veterans, citizens of Alexandria and Antinopolis (outside these cities), public physicians and professors of the Museum, victors in the public games and Dionysiac artists, priests (a limited number only in each temple-staff), and invalids or people with recognised charges on them. But there was a growing tendency to disregard exemptions, which was probably necessitated by the diminution in the number of possible candidates for office, and the frequency of complaints shows clearly that the system was in danger of breaking down.

39. The visit of Severus to Egypt in the year 200 resulted in an attempt to repair the machine and secure the revenue by the grant of a larger measure of local autonomy, carrying with it local responsibility. His attention must have been forcibly called to the precarious condition of affairs as soon as he reached Alexandria, if indeed he had not heard of it previously and been moved thereby to go and see what could be done to remedy it: a memorandum is preserved, which was presented to him at this time, describing the complete ruin of certain villages by the burden of liturgies for financial and police duties. The keystone of the reorganisation was the establishment of senates in the metropoleis of the nomes: the position of the higher officials of the central administration does not seem to have been affected except incidentally; and the government of the towns may therefore be considered first, with that of the Greek cities, which was now assimilated to it.

(a) Local Government of the Towns.

40. The metropolis, as described above, possessed a number of magistrates charged with various duties in respect of the local welfare, but apparently no collective authority. These would form a nucleus for

the new organisation; and a year after the visit of Severus the magistrates of Oxyrhynchos appear acting in council and authorising appointments for public works with consequent expenditure from the city funds. They do not use the title of senate, and their powers may have been transitional; but it would be the most obvious course, in creating senates, to take as the first members those men who were holding or had held office in their cities, and the council of magistrates at Oxyrhynchos in 201 may safely be regarded as the nascent senate. Within the next few years senates are mentioned at all the metropoleis of Egypt concerning which any substantial body of records exists, and there can be no doubt that the new system was applied throughout the country.

41. The appointment of all the higher local magistrates passed into the hands of the senate, together with the nomination to special liturgies and the arrangement of the rota of service in the various offices: as all the old annual magistracies, such as that of gymnasiarch, were now habitually filled by colleges instead of individuals, the appointment of duties became an important task. Its financial responsibility in respect of taxation was involved in the nomination of officers to collect the taxes, as it would be the ultimate guarantor of their payments to the State; but it does not seem to have discussed questions of principle arising in this matter, and probably merely selected instruments to carry out the orders of the central government. It had, however, control of some local funds and could authorise the expenditure of money on public objects: it also had powers for the regulation of trades, and supervised the affairs of the temples.

42. The establishment of the senates carried with it the creation of several new administrative posts. The chief of these was that of prytanis, who was the presiding officer of the senate, and also its executive: the period of his service is uncertain, but may have been annual; it appears that he was nominated six months in advance, and that re-election was possible. The

hypomnematographos probably derived his title from Alexandria: he evidently ranked high among the municipal officials, and may have been a town clerk. The legal duties of the modern town clerk, however, seem rather to have fallen upon another new functionary, the syndikos, who advised the senate on points of procedure and represented it in court. The tamias was required to act as the city treasurer, in view of the control of local funds placed at the disposal of the senate.

(b) *Local Government of the Villages.*

43. The powers of the senate were restricted to the metropolis, and did not extend to the nome of which this was the administrative centre; but there was a change in the direction of an increase of local responsibility in the villages also. The chief alteration was in the revival of the office of komarch, which had existed in Ptolemaic times, but had been superseded by the elders, though the name occurs occasionally, possibly as an archaistic survival in popular use: the elders, with the village-scribe, now in their turn gradually disappear, and in their place the komarchs, usually two in number, took charge of the government and taxation of the villages. The office was a liturgy, probably for one year, and the komarchs nominated their successors, and other officers, for the approval of the strategos.

(c) *Taxation-Officials.*

44. In one respect, however, the metropolis and the villages were equated in the new organisation—that of the supervision of taxation. Both alike had hitherto been controlled directly by the strategos in matters of State finance; but in the third century controllers of taxation to act for all parts of the nome were appointed by the senate of the metropolis. The unit for this purpose was the toparchy, an old subdivision of the nome which had passed out of use for purposes of administration, though it had survived as a name in

many places: dekaprotoi were chosen, usually two for each toparchy, to supervise the collection of the revenue, both in corn and in money, by the praktores and other lower officials: they were normally senators, and frequently served for more than one year. At the same time there was a revival of the activities of the nomarch and the toparch, Ptolemaic officers who, as has already been mentioned, had ceased to take an important part in local government during the first two centuries: their relation to the dekaprotoi is not clear, but probably they were subordinate, as the toparchs seem to have been chosen from the inhabitants of the villages.

(d) *Police.*

45. The grant of civic autonomy was apparently accompanied by the organisation of a police force in each metropolis distinct from that of the nome, as a new head of police occurs in the towns in the third century, while the archephodos continued to have charge in the villages. The new official was called nyktostrategos, a title presumably borrowed from Alexandria, and had under him a large body of subordinates; but there is no evidence that he was appointed by, or under the direction of, the senate, and it is more likely that the Roman government still kept control of the police.

46. The changes introduced into the administrative system of Egypt by Severus may perhaps be regarded as an admission of failure. The Roman emperors had tried to manage the country as a private estate, in which all the inhabitants were only servants with no voice in the direction of their own affairs; and the economic condition had steadily deteriorated. If there had been no one in question but Egyptian fellahîn, the policy might have been less fatal; but there were large numbers of men of Greek descent, and more of Hellenised upbringing, resident in the Nile valley, and they might claim not to be worse treated than the Greeks of the other Eastern provinces. Hadrian had

experimented in the grant of municipal autonomy to the Egyptian Greeks by the foundation of Antinoopolis, and the city had flourished: Severus, who in many ways followed and developed the policy of Hadrian, might well extend the experiment to all the nome-capitals, and this might be regarded as a favour to the Greeks. But it is significant that the change was attended by a revival of old Ptolemaic offices and titles, which may have been designed to, and probably would, convey to the minds of the people the idea that they were to be governed by a home-made system reproduced from that which they knew by tradition.

47. Whatever the motives of Severus may have been—a desire to grant a measure of recognition to the political aspirations of the Greeks, a hope that the economic condition of Egypt might improve under the quickening influence of autonomy, and simply a design of securing a wider guarantee for the payment of taxes, have been suggested—the attempt to restore prosperity failed. A few years after the institution of the senates, the constitution of Caracalla gave the Greek inhabitants of Egypt the Roman citizenship, but this had little practical effect on their status. And neither autonomy nor citizenship could repair the results of the steady drain of wealth from Alexandria to Rome. The burden of charges was as insupportable to the senators of the third century as it had been to the liturgists of the second, and the attempts to evade office were as numerous as before. The Diocletianic reforms at the end of the third century included a complete recasting of the machinery of government in Egypt from top to bottom.

(3) THE BYZANTINE PERIOD.

48. Diocletian abandoned the attempt to administer Egypt on special lines, and assimilated the scheme of organisation to that of the other provinces: incidentally the local system of dating by the regnal years of the emperors and the local coinage were superseded by

those in use throughout the empire. The new arrangements underwent modification from time to time, but the framework remained substantially unaltered till the Arab conquest.

49. The division of the empire into four dioceses placed Egypt in that of the East under the *præfectus prætorio per Orientem*; and the country was split into three provinces, *Ægyptus Jovia*, *Ægyptus Herculia*, and Thebais, which most probably corresponded roughly to the three former *epistrategiai*. About 341 a fourth province, *Augustamnica*, was formed out of the eastern districts of *Jovia* and *Herculia*; and towards the end of the fourth century *Herculia* was renamed *Arcadia*. The only subsequent alterations in this arrangement consisted in the subdivision into two of all the provinces except *Arcadia*: this took effect in Thebais before 450, in *Augustamnica* probably rather later, and in *Ægyptus* (the remainder of the original *Ægyptus Jovia*) about 535.

(a) *Provincial Government.*

50. The immediate effect of the reorganisation was a diminution in the former powers of the prefect, who lost his military command, the troops being placed under an independent *dux*. He was still nominally *præfectus Ægypti*, but his actual province was only *Ægyptus Jovia*: *Ægyptus Herculia* and Thebais were governed by *præsides*, who were technically subordinate to him, but appear to have had an effectively independent jurisdiction; their headquarters were in their provinces, and thus they were in a stronger position than the *epistrategoi* had been. When *Augustamnica* was created, it also was placed under a *præsides*.

51. About 381 Egypt was taken out of the diocese of the East and formed, with Libya, into a separate diocese; which seems to have occasioned a titular exaltation of the prefect, who thereafter was known as *præfectus Augustalis*. The command of the army in

the new diocese was divided between the comes Ægypti, the dux Thebaidis, and the dux Libyarum. About the same time the style of the governor of Augustamnica was changed from præses to corrector. A more important change took place when the province of Thebais was split in two, as the upper province was given a ruler with military as well as civil power, the comes et dux limitis Thebaici, to whom the purely civil præses of the lower half was subordinated. Finally, in 538 Justinian abandoned the principles of Diocletian in respect of the separation of civil and military functions, and entrusted both alike to the governors of Ægyptus, Augustamnica, Arcadia, and Thebais: all four were directly under the præfectus prætorio Orientis, and were assisted by civil præsides, one for Arcadia and one for each of the two divisions of the other provinces.

52. Of the old officials of the central organisation who ranked immediately below the prefect, the epistrategoi were virtually replaced by the præsides. The idiologos and dioiketes disappear, and their functions as directors of finance passed to the catholicus, an officer who occurs in Egypt in the third century, but was evidently given wider powers in the rearrangement and was independent of the prefect, acting under the comes sacrarum largitionum at Constantinople. The supervision of domain-land exercised by the idiologos seems to have been given to a magister rei privatæ with the title of epitropos; but the domain-land of Egypt in the Byzantine period was steadily diminishing in extent, and the duties of its director would become less important.

(b) *Local Government.*

53. The reorganisation of the country into three provinces was quickly followed, about 307, by a rearrangement of the territorial basis of local government. For purposes of administration, the nomes practically ceased to exist: they were divided into numbered pagi, which became the effective units. Probably at the

same time, the relation of the metropolis and the villages was changed, and a municipal organisation on the Roman model was introduced: the metropolis became a *civitas*, with the villages surrounding it as its dependent territory and governed by officials chosen by its senate.

54. The higher local officials of the new organisation may have been nominated by the senate, though not responsible to that body, but were more probably chosen by the central government: of these the chief was the exactor, who replaced the strategos in certain of his functions, and for some years was described by both the old and the new titles. He was directly under the *præses*, and was mainly concerned with financial questions, so far as the records show; but as the activities of most of the Byzantine officials were primarily directed to taxation, the records may be incomplete in regard to his other powers. Some of the duties of the strategos, however, passed to the *logistes* or curator, who was originally a specially delegated representative of the central government, but in the fourth century became a regular local magistrate, apparently with jurisdiction both in the city and the *pagi*, and in the city absorbed many of the functions of the old magistrates, such as the supervision of games, public buildings, markets, and supplies. The *ekdikos*, or defensor, first occurs early in the fourth century, associated with the *logistes*: in succeeding centuries the *logistes* drops out and the *ekdikos* takes his place.

55. In the towns, the senates continued to exist, but the old classes of magistrates gradually disappear: it was perhaps recognised that the *gymnasiarchs* and their fellow-officers had ceased to bear any resemblance to the original holders of those titles, and instead of voluntary contributors to the common good had become conscripted collectors of taxes. Membership of the senate became an hereditary obligation. The *prytanis*, as president, was replaced by the *propoliteuomenos*; the *syndikos*, as town clerk, by the *logographos*.

56. The pagi were administered by præpositi, who were nominated by the senate, and dealt with questions such as finance and police. In the villages the komarchs continued as general managers of minor local affairs, occasionally in association with other magistrates such as the ephor and the quadrarius, until the sixth century, when both præpositi and komarchs were supplanted by the pagarch, an officer of a new type; he was chosen by the emperor to administer the lands of the pagus other than those specially treated, and was usually a large landowner in the district: and this change marks the abandonment of the idea of local self-government in favour of the principles of feudalism.

(c) *Tax-Collection.*

57. The senates remained responsible for the collection of taxes in the cities, and had their responsibility increased by the extension of their purview over the nomes. The dekaprotoi, who had been appointed in the third century by the senates, disappeared, and under the exactor the work of actual collection was carried out by various bodies of officials, the chief being epimeletai and hypodektai, whose relation to one another is not clear, as they both seem to have dealt with the same kinds of taxes: they were usually members of the senate, and had under them minor officials. This system was modified in the fifth century, when the State began to abdicate its functions by handing over the whole control of taxation in certain areas, either villages or estates, to the inhabitants or owners, who simply had to pay through their heads, the proto-kometai, a fixed sum to the treasury, and collected it as they pleased. The villages which did not gain this privilege paid their taxes through the pagarchs, and, as noted above, in the course of the next century practically became the domains of the great landed proprietors, who, as pagarchs, squeezed out the small remaining authority of the senates.

(d) Police.

58. The police arrangements never seem to have passed under the control of the senates, though senators are found acting as *riparii*, the heads of police in the nomes, and may have been selected for this liturgy by the senates: they were directly under the orders of the central government. Below them the *nyktostrategoi* continued to perform their functions in the towns, while in the villages the place of the *archephodos* was taken by the *eirenarch*: in both areas there were bodies of *phylakes* as executive officers. But the main guarantee of the peace of the country was still the Roman army, with small details picketed in the several districts; the only change being that the *præpositi castrorum* took the place of the centurions as the commanders of the details: the presence of the soldiery was the more necessary as the large landholders kept troops of police or irregulars of their own, against whom the local constabulary were helpless.

59. The Byzantine scheme of administration in Egypt failed as completely as the earlier ones to secure prosperity or to satisfy the people. The difficulty of extracting the taxes and the complaints of ruin constantly increased, and the government, which was reduced to confessing officially its ignorance of what was being done in its name, could find no fresh device except that of resigning in favour of the local magnates. The result of this would probably have been to establish a string of petty autocracies, tributary to Constantinople, along the Nile, if the Persian invasion and the Arab conquest had not come too soon for the full development.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REVENUES AND TAXATION OF EGYPT

1. THE principles of taxation adopted in Egypt by the Romans show substantial modifications of those followed by the Ptolemies, which may be explained by the change in the relation of the country to its rulers. The Greek kings had to raise a revenue for the maintenance of their court and the expenses of government, but it was for the most part spent in Egypt: a large proportion of the proceeds of the taxes collected under the Roman empire went abroad to benefit the population of Rome, and the Egyptians got no return. Also the Ptolemies had derived a considerable revenue from monopolies, and from customs-duties which were imposed as a protective tariff on imports from foreign countries which might otherwise compete with the monopolised articles; but the Roman merchants would naturally desire to exploit the Egyptian market, and so customs-barriers, at any rate against Rome, and monopolies disappeared. Egypt, in short, from being a self-contained economic unit, became a dependent tributary of Rome; and consequently the Ptolemaic system of taxation, which had in its inception been a fairly scientific one and apparently suitably related to the productive capacity of the country, was changed into one which was simply a machine for squeezing out the wealth in one form or another, the operations of which were only modified in the direction of making them more drastic as the country became poorer.

2. The amount which was to be contributed by Egypt to the imperial treasury was a matter for the special

consideration of the emperor year by year. He not only decided how much revenue was to be raised in the province, but issued specific directions as to the manner in which it should be collected. His orders were addressed to the prefect, from whose offices they passed to the strategoi of the nomes and so to the authorities of the towns and villages, and set in motion the army of officials described in the last chapter for assessing and collecting the sums required.

3. The most important of all the taxes levied in Egypt was the corn-tax, which was collected in kind from the cultivators of the land, and used to furnish the tribute of corn which was sent to feed Rome: the rents paid in kind by the tenants of domain-land may have contributed to the quantity required for export, but the bulk of supply probably came from the proceeds of taxation. For the purpose of this tax an elaborate register of the lands under cultivation in each district was kept, by the aid of which the village authorities assessed upon the farmers the amounts respectively payable by each. In determining these amounts, they were directed to have special regard to the rise of the Nile, so that lands which had been out of the reach of the flood in any particular year might be more lightly taxed than those which had been duly fertilised by the inundation; and accordingly returns were made each year to the strategos of the nome when any land had not been inundated, or only partially so; similar returns were sent if the land remained waterlogged, or was covered with sand, or had been eroded by the river: all these circumstances would diminish the productivity of the land, and so constitute the basis of a claim for abatement from the assessment; and an official inspection was made of the lands in respect of which such notifications were received. Information was also sent to the authorities of changes in the tenure of land, which involved the transfer of liability for the payment of taxes; and alterations in cultivation were inspected. The normal rate of the tax was one artaba per aroura, but a rate of one and a half artabas also occurs, and

some fractional charges are added at times. A list of the amounts due from the individual members of the community was drawn up by the village scribe, and the sitologoi collected the corn at the local granary, into which the cultivators passed the whole of their produce. The sitologoi were also responsible for the transport of the quota of corn to be furnished by the village from the granary to the river, for which purpose the owners of camels or asses were required to place a certain number of their animals at the disposal of the authorities: the conveyance down the Nile to Alexandria was entrusted to the naukleroi, who had to deliver it over to the imperial granaries at Neapolis, whence it was shipped to Rome: the expenses up to and including the delivery at Alexandria were paid by the authorities of the village which sent the corn. The lands of Alexandria and the Menelaite nome were specially exempt from this tax.

4. While corn was exacted from the farmers whose land was sown for this crop, those holdings which were used for growing garden-produce, or as vineyards, fig-plantations, palm-groves, or olive-yards, were liable to taxes payable in money and collected by the praktores of money-taxes. The main tax was the geometria, which seems to have been assessed in most cases at rates of fifty or twenty-five drachmas per aroura, the higher sum being described as on vine-land, the lower on garden-ground; but it is probable that these descriptions are typical only, and that what actually determined the assessment at one rate or the other was the productivity of the land. The same distinction of rates is found in regard to the apomoirā, a tax on this class of land which was instituted under Ptolemy II. for the support of certain religious cults, but was nationalised by the Romans: in respect of this tax "vine-land" paid three thousand copper drachmas per aroura, "garden-ground" fifteen hundred—equivalent to about ten and five silver drachmas respectively. A third tax, the eparourion, was assessed at a single rate for both classes of two thousand copper drachmas (six and two-

thirds silver) per aroura. The statements of account for these, as indeed for most money-taxes in Roman Egypt, are complicated by extra charges and allowances, but the general result is fairly clear.

5. Another tax on land, the incidence of which was determined not by the character of the crops grown, but by the conditions attached to the tenure, was the *naubion*, a charge paid in lieu of personal service in the *corvée* on dykes and canals by tenants of "catoecic" and "privileged" lands: these were classes of holdings which had come down from Ptolemaic times, and the rights and exemptions vested in the original grants had been preserved to succeeding owners: the first class paid one hundred copper drachmas per aroura, the second one hundred and fifty.

6. It is not clear whether there was a special tax on house property. A few receipts and returns exist referring to payments in respect of income from buildings, which were collected by the *praktores*, and in one list of arrears due from the inhabitants of a village appear classed among other money-taxes; but there is nothing to show whether the assessment was in respect of the property or of the revenue derived from it. The *praktores* and *epiteretai* are also found occasionally as collectors of *enoikion*, which is the customary term for house-rent; but the smallness of the sums paid, ranging in the Theban ostraka from one drachma and half an obol to eight drachmas three obols for the year, makes it improbable that these were rents, and it may be assumed that the word is used in these documents to connote a tax.

7. There is rather more evidence as to the taxes on domestic animals, which were levied separately on the different species. The tax which occurs most frequently is that on pigs: the total amounts paid vary widely, and it seems probable that it was assessed at a certain sum per head; but as the number of pigs is nowhere stated, the sum cannot be calculated. The rate of the tax on sheep, most of the records of which come from the Fayûm, is uncertain for the same reason, but the

amounts entered point to the conclusion that it was similarly reckoned. The camel-tax, which is also mainly found in Fayûm papyri, is usually paid in multiples of ten drachmas ; but in one instance there is a statement that twenty drachmas were paid on ten camels, and another receipt shows payments of irregular amounts ranging from one to eleven drachmas by various individuals, so that it does not appear that ten can be taken as a unit of payment. There is only one entry of a tax on oxen, and none specifically of a tax on goats ; but as returns for registration are made of goats in the same way as of sheep and with them, it is possible that the goats were treated with the sheep for purposes of taxation and the payments lumped under one head. Horses and asses were somewhat differently treated : the tax on their account was expressed as for a "diploma," and was at the rate in one instance of eight drachmas for an ass, and in another of eight drachmas eight obols yearly for each horse : it may be noted that in the latter case the payment was made to the collector of the diploma of asses, the horse being a comparatively rare animal in the Roman period in Egypt. The returns for registration mentioned above, which would serve as a basis of taxation, were made annually in respect of sheep, goats, and camels, and where necessary stated the changes that had occurred in the flocks since the previous year.

8. A considerable proportion of the receipts for taxes is concerned with the payments made by traders of various descriptions ; but, owing to the brevity of the documents, in most cases the exact nature of the assessment is not clear. It seems certain, however, that the tax, which was usually paid monthly, was a fixed sum for each trade in each locality, though the sum varied for different trades at the same place, and apparently for the same trade at different places : thus at Arsinoe the oil-sellers each paid eight drachmas a month, the hucksters twelve, the perfume-sellers sixty, the bakers eight, the dyers twenty-four, the fullers sixteen, the spice-sellers thirty-six, the beer-sellers sixteen, the

tin-sellers sixteen; on the other hand, the weavers seem normally to have paid a total of thirty-six drachmas a year at Oxyrhynchos, while in the Fayûm the rates for them were higher. The amount of the tax for each place was fixed by a government tariff, and this was settled on a yearly basis—in the Arsinoite nome one hundred and ninety-two drachmas a year for fullers and two hundred and eighty-eight for dyers, as stated in a report of legal proceedings, which agree with the monthly payments given above.

9. In addition to these payments by individual traders, there are instances of what would appear to be payments in respect of the whole exercise of particular industries in certain places: thus the fulling industry of the two villages of Neiloupolis and Soknopaiou Nesos is leased for a year by four men. But at the latter place payments from individual fullers also occur; and the relation of the two types of payment is not clear. On the whole, the most probable explanation would seem to be that the exercise of trades was controlled by the government to the extent that it determined the number of workers in any given trade that would be required to meet the normal needs of a town or village, and either gave licences to that number directly on payment of the trade-tax by each, or leased the whole trade of the place to some man or body in return for the total sum which would have been produced by the settled number of individual licenses and left the lessee to recoup himself either by sub-leasing his rights or by controlling the industry: the method followed might vary from year to year, according to whether an applicant for the lease of the whole came forward or not. It is noticeable that in several instances leases of trades were held by temples, which would be in a favourable position for controlling the exercise of local industries and finding workmen.

10. These arrangements, which practically amounted to the grant of a local monopoly, were applied to all kinds of manufactures and occupations—for instance, two (or more) men had a grant of the industry of

goldsmiths at Euhemereia for four years at a yearly payment of two hundred and sixty-four drachmas ; a man paid one hundred drachmas a month for the right of making and selling bricks for a year at Kerkethoeris ; another took a sub-lease for a year of a quarter of the rights in the sale of perfumes comprised in a lease of half the rights in the division of Themistes, which illustrates the process of the distribution of responsibility. Similarly, hunting and fishing licences contributed to swell the revenues of the State : a man offered forty drachmas for the right to catch birds in the marsh at Theadelphia for a year, another offer for the same right being thirty-two drachmas for five months ; and the fishing rights of the marshes were leased in the same way. The fishing on Lake Mœris, however, and presumably on the Nile, does not appear to have been leased : the fishermen on the open lake paid a tax of uncertain amount, probably of the nature of a trade-licence ; and it may be assumed that the lease-system was only applied in a comparatively restricted area, such as that of the marshes.

11. The most important of the direct money-taxes paid by the Egyptians was the poll-tax ; but, in spite of the multitude of receipts and other documents relating to it, the method of determining its incidence is not clear. The rates varied, not only at different places, but in the same town : at Syene and Elephantine the tax was sixteen drachmas in the first century A.D., rising to seventeen drachmas one obol in the second ; in two quarters of Thebes, twenty-four drachmas, in others ten drachmas or ten drachmas four obols ; at Tentyra sixteen drachmas ; at Hermopolis apparently eight and possibly twelve ; at Oxyrhynchos normally twelve for privileged classes ; at Memphis eight ; while in the Fayûm at Arsinoe the privileged classes paid twenty drachmas and others forty ; and in the village of Tebtunis rates of forty drachmas, twenty-two drachmas four obols, twenty, sixteen, and eight drachmas occur. One principle which determined some of the variations in the towns was that the native Egyptians paid the

highest rate, while certain of the more Hellenised inhabitants, known technically as "of the Gymnasium," were assessed at a lower figure, usually one-half. Alexandrians and citizens of the other Greek cities and katoikoi (holders of land originally granted by the Ptolemies to their soldiers and carrying special rights), and of course Romans, were exempt. The tax was paid by males only, between the ages of fourteen and sixty: to procure the necessary material for its collection a house-to-house census was taken every fourteen years, obtaining full particulars of all the inhabitants of each house, for which census all people were required to return to their legal place of domicile; and the records were kept up to date between the census years by notification of births and deaths, though these do not appear to have been compulsory: as regards the deaths, the notifications were probably prompted by the desire of the heirs to get the name of the deceased removed from the list of taxpayers.

12. Another direct tax was the crown-tax, the history of which requires some elucidation. It was inherited by the Roman emperors from the Ptolemies, under whom it had originally been in theory a present given to the king on his accession or on some special occasion, paid either in money or in kind, and nearly always from members of the privileged class of katoikoi. The earliest instances of payments under the empire—which were always in money—may have been governed by the same principle: the first are probably those recorded on some demotic ostraka from Tentyra, dated in the second year of an emperor who is most likely Caligula, in sums of two drachmas two obols, one man paying twice; and two Theban ostraka, each containing receipts for two drachmas three obols, are dated in 42: so these groups may represent contributions on the occasions of the accessions respectively of Caligula and Claudius. But towards the end of the second century payments become more frequent, and in the reigns of Septimius Severus and Elagabalus it seems to have been a regular tax, collected by special praktores. In two instances

it is stated to have been assessed on land, once at a rate of twenty-four drachmas per *aroura*, once at twelve, the land in the latter case being described as private; so that it would appear that not only had a special levy been made into a constant one, but its incidence had been extended from land held on privileged terms to all land. After the reign of Elagabalus the regular payments cease, and as Severus Alexander is stated to have remitted the *aurum coronarium* for Rome, and in an edict, which has been ascribed to him with considerable probability, a general remission throughout the empire of future payments for this purpose is announced, it seems most likely that the recurring crown-tax in Egypt was abolished by him. The custom of presenting crowns did not die out: thus the senate of Oxyrhynchos collected money for a golden crown on the occasion of a victory of the emperor Aurelian; but in this instance the crown was actually made, though it does not appear what was done with it: so that the levy seems to have reverted to its original type.

13. A special tax which in the theory of its origin was somewhat akin to that last mentioned was the levy for statues of the emperors. These were regularly erected in various towns, and a series of ostraka from Syene indicates that there was a collection for a statue of Trajan in 104, and another in 114; in 128 for a statue presumably of Hadrian; in 141 for a statue and a bust presumably of Antoninus Pius; and in 162 for statues and busts of Aurelius and Verus; as well as interim collections in 131, 139, and 144 for gilding statues. The amounts of the payments are small, the highest being four drachmas in 141 and ten in 162; but the frequent recurrence of the levy would make it an appreciable addition to the burdens of the natives: it was exacted through the regular tax-collecting machinery of the *praktores* or farmers. It is possible that a similar levy was made for the erection of temples to the emperors, as there is a record of a collection for a *Hadrianeion* at Hermopolis, which may well represent contributions towards the cost of building.

14. The provisioning of the Roman troops formed another charge upon the Egyptians. The requirements of the government were partly met by the *annona*, a special tax on the produce of the land, at any rate in the earlier centuries of the empire, which could be paid either in money or in kind. Receipts in kind of corn or barley went into the village granary with the other taxes ; but other supplies, such as chaff, would appear to have been more usually handed over direct to the military authorities. But a substantial part of the corn and barley was obtained by requisitions : a *nome* might be ordered by the prefect to furnish a given quantity to a camp, and the liability would then be distributed among the villages, the elders of which would deliver the corn to the troops and obtain the payment for it to be handed over to the villagers. It is not clear whether the money received on account of *annona* was earmarked for these payments. Clothing for the use of the troops was also supplied : thus the weavers of a village furnished certain tunics and cloaks, the latter being stated to be for soldiers serving in Judæa ; and a similar provision was made for the gladiatorial school at Alexandria. A liability of the same nature was that in respect of hides, which were required by the legions for the making of armour.

15. The system of requisitions for the benefit of the government was very fully developed in regard to beasts of transport, particularly camels, in a way which virtually constituted it a tax, although payment for hire might be allowed. The orders emanated from the prefect : in one instance specific injunctions are given in a series of letters to the strategoi of various *nomes* directing them to send camels under the supervision of soldiers detailed for the purpose to a given rendezvous, where they would be inspected and the payment made ; in another case it appears that in addition to the camels the local officials handed over a sum for their maintenance.

16. It is probable that troops moving about in the

country made demands on the inhabitants by way of requisitions considerably in excess of anything to which they were entitled, as the prefects had to issue edicts forbidding the exaction of services or money without express authority, and limiting the right which might be exercised to that of quartering. But the provision for the higher officials on their regular visits of inspection in the province involved heavy burdens: thus a list of the people liable to furnish supplies when the prefect visited Hermopolis contains fifty-two names, and the articles include bread, flesh, fish, and fowl, groceries, wine, fodder and fuel, and donkeys. Compared with these constantly recurring charges, the levies on the rare occasion of an imperial visit, though they may have been heavier in themselves, would be unimportant items.

17. Among the indirect taxes, customs and dues on transit probably took the most important place, though it is not apparent that they would produce a very substantial net revenue. The fact that very little documentary evidence has come from Alexandria, which would naturally be the largest centre for the collection of customs on external trade, makes a definite conclusion difficult; but in view of the general considerations set out above and the absence of any mention of levies on goods at Alexandria, it seems probable that the Ptolemaic protective tariff was abandoned. There certainly was a regular system of charges on the Eastern trade coming up the Red Sea, which is mentioned by Strabo; but, if the regulations which have been preserved in a fragmentary form in a papyrus represent, as is most probable, this tariff, it seems clear from the scale of the dues that it was not protective in its object: the rate on Minæan myrrh was twenty-two drachmas two and a half obols per talent, on Trogodytic myrrh sixty-seven drachmas one obol, on cassia the same as on Minæan myrrh, on aloe twenty-four drachmas per load—sums which are small in proportion to the value of the merchandise. The provisions of the regulations, which authorised

the customs-officer to unload a cargo and confiscate any goods which had been wrongly declared, certainly suggest that their object was the raising of revenue and that they were not merely transit-charges.

18. The local dues, as to which more evidence exists, seem on the other hand to have been mainly of the nature of tolls. Stations on the Nile are mentioned by Strabo as existing at Schedia, two hundred and forty stades above Alexandria, which would deal with the traffic from the interior to the city, and at Hermopolis, which was the nearest town to the dividing line between the Thebaid and Middle Egypt: and there are records of similar stations at Syene, for the river-trade from the south; at Hermonthis, probably a special control for the district of Thebes; at Koptos, for the desert road from the Red Sea; and at various points in the Fayûm, for trade with the oases on the one hand and the Nile valley on the other. In most cases an *ad valorem* duty was collected, in Upper Egypt at the rate of two per cent. and in the Fayûm of three, in addition to which in the latter district there were charges for the protection of the desert roads and for the harbour of Memphis which were assessed per load of goods: a levy, corresponding to that for the desert-guard in the Fayûm, occurs at Syene in the form of a payment for the protection of the harbour which was assessed per freight, but at Thebes the expenses of policing the river seem to have been met by a general rate on the district. A more elaborate scale of fees is found on a stele from Koptos, which deals more with passengers than goods, and shows some curious variations in rates: steersmen from the Red Sea paid ten drachmas; seamen, five; shipwrights, five; artisans, eight; prostitutes, one hundred and eight; women entering the country, twenty; wives of soldiers, twenty; the husband in a departing caravan, one; all his women, four each; while the ticket for a camel was one obol, and for an ass two; for a covered wagon, four drachmas; for a ship's mast, twenty; for a ship's yard, four; and for

a funeral to the desert and back, one drachma four obols. It seems as if there was an attempt to relate the charges on passengers to their occupation and

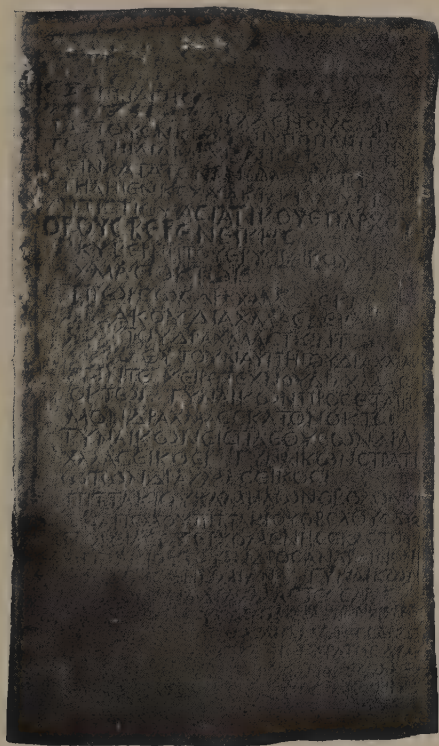


FIG. 63.—Tariff-Stele of Koptos. (Alexandria Museum.)

status, and those on equipages to wear and tear of the roads; and the whole group of these dues may be taken as intended to provide for the upkeep and protection of the means of transit whether by land or

water. They were normally collected on behalf of the State by farmers.

19. An indirect tax of some importance was the enkyklion, a fee on sale of real property normally at the rate of ten per cent. of the purchase price, though in one instance in the third century the charge seems to have been considerably higher: in the case of assignment of land held on the privileged tenure of the katoikoi, the place of the enkyklion was taken by a special tax, the rate of which is not certain. On mortgages the enkyklion was charged at two per cent. The five per cent. taxes on manumission of slaves and on inheritances were payable only by Roman citizens and would not produce much in Egypt until the general extension of the citizenship to the upper classes of the population by Caracalla in 212, which may have been accompanied by a raising of the rate from five to ten per cent. There is also a five per cent. tax mentioned on demotic ostraka from Tentyra, the nature of which is obscure: the sums involved are small, and are paid at or after the end of the year in respect of which they are assessed: they may be similar to the two per cent. tax on sales of an ox (?) and of wood which is found on two Theban ostraka. With these charges may be classed the fees for registration of documents and the fines for non-fulfilment payable to the treasury which were commonly included in the penal clauses of contracts.

20. The liability to personal service in the work of maintenance of dykes and canals which was imposed on the Egyptians may also be ranked as a tax: it could in fact be compounded by a money payment, which was received like other taxes by the praktores. In the Fayûm the normal liability was for five days' work, usually performed during the period between the beginning of June and the middle of August, though occasional variations occur: in the Thebaid the acknowledgments given for work done state it not in terms of days, but of naubia—*i.e.* strictly of the cubic contents of the digging—and the amounts differ

so much that it is hard to say what should be regarded as normal. As, however, the money-composition was the same in the Thebaid as in the Fayûm, namely six drachmas four obols, and this would naturally be assessed on a basis of time, it is probable that the five days' work was the real liability throughout the country. It does not appear under what circumstances a man could compound; but as the same individuals are recorded as paying the composition in some years and working in others, and it is hardly likely to have been left to the option of the taxpayer which course he followed, it is possible that the officials in charge of the dykes called up such men as they required to prepare for the rise of the river, and when all the necessary work had been done those of the inhabitants who were liable but had not been summoned to serve paid a fixed sum as the equivalent: this theory is in accord with the fact that receipts in respect of payments for the dyke-tax are usually dated later in the year than the acknowledgments of work done: they are rarely given before the end of August.

21. Less strictly of the nature of taxes, at any rate in the earlier centuries of Roman rule, were the liturgies in respect of offices and duties to which most of the inhabitants of Egypt might be nominated; but the burden of expense on individuals has to be taken into account in reviewing the incidence of State charges. The local officials of the lower ranks were in theory salaried, but the receipts were probably far below the liabilities, and conscription was necessary in order to fill the posts. Certain classes were exempt—citizens of Alexandria and Antinoopolis (outside their own cities), athletes and Dionysiac artists, public physicians and professors, Roman citizens and veterans, and a limited number of priests, as well as invalids or people with other charges; but otherwise all those whose means enabled them to support the burden of office were liable to nomination, and they seem to have been called up in rotation, with intervals between service which became shorter as the number of eligible persons

diminished. The system became in effect a super-tax on the propertied classes, and was so heavy that many men fled from their homes to avoid liturgies, presumably feeling that they were bound to lose all they had and so might as well let their property be confiscated at once without having the worry of office in addition to their loss ; and an instance is recorded of the foundation of a charitable trust for the relief of those who were overburdened by their liturgies. Particulars of the various offices will be found in the preceding chapter.

22. The allowances made to the holders of these posts were certainly in some cases and probably in all provided by special taxes levied on the districts. Thus in a register of taxation-returns from Thmuis in the Delta there are mentioned sums earmarked for the village-scribe, the scribe of the topos, the scribe of the police, the director of the police, and the wardens of the pastures ; and from other sources come particulars of payments made in respect of various classes of police ; for instance, one man in the Fayûm was taxed for the police, the river-guards, the guards of the watch-towers, and the prison-guards : the charges for the policing of the river at Thebes and for the guarding of the desert-roads have been noted above. The salaries of the higher officials were also met by specific levies : taxes earmarked for the epistrategos and the royal scribe occur in several documents, and in one case apparently for the vicarius, eklogistes, and idiologos.

23. The absence in Egypt, during the first two centuries of Roman rule, of any organised system of municipal government placed upon the State the charge for the maintenance of some institutions which might have been expected to be managed as a local service : the best instance of this is in regard to the public baths, which were financed by a special tax collected by the imperial officials, usually with the poll-tax and dyke-tax. The amount of the tax varied in different localities : at Thebes it seems to have been normally two drachmas a year, while at Tentyra in the early

part of the first century A.D. it was possibly as high as forty: the rates in the Fayûm are uncertain. Possibly a similar type of tax is to be found in a series of demotic ostraka from Tentyra, which refer to what seems to be a market-tax, presumably for the upkeep of the local market.

24. There are, however, a few traces of local rating arrangements even before the institution of senates in the chief towns. At Arsinoe in 113 A.D. the water-supply was under the control of curators who seem to have been responsible to the community and not to the State, and collected payments for water from various persons and bodies: the baths, when open, paid eighteen obols daily, the fountains nine, the bar of the temple of Sarapis thirteen: a Jewish synagogue and another house of prayer, probably Jewish, each paid one hundred and twenty-eight drachmas a month. An *octroi* on articles coming into a metropolis for sale, of slightly earlier date, may be also a local rather than a State levy: it was farmed out, and provided for a payment per head on cattle graduated according to age, while other commodities, except wine and vinegar, were charged at one-twelfth of their value.

25. The taxes which were nominally assigned to the support of the temples and the worship of the gods occupied a special position in the Roman arrangements for Egyptian finance. There was a separate department of the treasury for sacred revenues, which received the proceeds of certain taxes and the income from certain lands: it was, however, controlled by the State, not by the priests, and the maintenance of the temples was provided by a fixed payment, the *syntaxis*. A direct capitation tax towards this provision, known as the *syntaximon*, was collected, usually at the rate of forty-four drachmas six *chalci*; but this must have formed only a small part of the receipts of the ecclesiastical commission. A papyrus from Thmuis mentions as hieratic taxes the *apomoirā* (which elsewhere appears as a definitely secularised tax paid into the *fiscus*, the main department of the treasury),

redemption fees for goats (the goat being the local sacred animal), fees on calves, a charge of five per cent. and another of three drachmas, the exact incidence of which is not explained, and a "thesauric" charge which seems to have been an extra tithe on other taxes. Some of these taxes, such as the fees on calves, occur elsewhere, and similar fees are found, such as the "two-drachmas of Souchos" in the Fayûm, a levy of ten per cent. on sales of house property or sites which was nominally dedicated to the local god. The rents from the lands which had originally belonged to the temples, but were confiscated under Augustus, except in so far as they might be granted to the priests in lieu of the syntaxis, would go into the same department and possibly relieve the taxpayers to some extent.

26. The position of the temple-lands in fact under the empire was very similar to that of the domain-lands of the old royal house: both classes alike, though nominally managed by separate departments, were administered for the benefit of the general revenue of the country. The whole of Egypt was in theory the private property of the Roman emperor, and there was not much practical advantage in making distinctions between the ultimate destinations of the income from one source and another. Thus the old domain-lands of the Ptolemies, increased by confiscations, were leased out to cultivators by the officials of the treasury; though certain estates were separately managed by imperial procurators or stewards, and were treated as a separate item in the administration. In the same way the quarries and mines, the working of which had been a royal monopoly under the Ptolemies, were controlled in Roman times by the treasury, and either exploited directly or worked by private contractors.

27. The changes in the local government of the provincial towns which took place during the third century in consequence of the establishment of senates in 200 A.D. were not accompanied by any radical

modification in the system of taxation. The responsibility for the collection of taxes was shifted on to the senators, and the burden of liturgies was continually increased ; but the actual taxes remained practically unaltered in name, scope, and incidence.

28. The reforms of Diocletian, however, produced a complete change. The scheme by which the total taxation of the province of Egypt was annually determined by the emperor was now applied to the whole of the empire : a *delegatio* (*diatyposis*) was issued each year to the *prætorian* prefects, who divided the sum required among the provinces and announced the result to the governors : they in turn sent *diatyposeis* assessing their shares on the *curiæ*, which were responsible for the collection ; then followed the division among *pagi*, and then among villages, the village officials dealing with the individual taxpayer. The supreme importance in the Byzantine administration of the annual announcement of the taxes (*indictio*) is shown by the fact that the *indictions*, which were arranged by cycles of fifteen years, became the normal basis of dating : the first *indiction* was probably in 297 A.D., after the capture of Alexandria.

29. The land-tax in corn was now simplified, and appears under an old name with a new significance as the *embole*. It was no longer assessed on the produce, but on *juga*, which were parcels of land of equal value but of varying size, the owners of which were responsible for the payment either of the required amount of corn or an equivalent in money. This was sent to Alexandria for the supply of the city and of Constantinople : a relatively small added charge for donations for Alexandria, possibly assigned to the Church for charitable purposes, occurs in one instance.

30. The money-taxes were commonly lumped together in statements of account, and there is no definite evidence as to the manner of their assessment. They are referred to in one document together with the *embole* as payable on property included in a dowry, the transfer of which carried with it the liability for the

taxes, so it would seem that a capitation was not the basis.

31. The chrysargyron, a tax on trades, was probably distinct from the main money-taxes: the trade-corporations were responsible for its payment, and had to arrange for its collection among their members.

32. There is more evidence as to the taxation for the maintenance of the army in Egypt. Payments for various military purposes were assessed on land—a list gives, among other rates, assessments of a gramme of gold on forty-six and a quarter arourai for mules, a gramme on twenty and three-quarters arourai for recruits, a solidus on sixteen hundred and sixty arourai for a primipilus. The supply of clothing was similarly assessed: from an imperial edict it is known that in Egypt thirty juga of land formed the amount liable for furnishing annually clothing for a soldier, and this is consonant with the evidence of papyri. Supplies in kind were also required: the troops received rations of bread, meat, oil, and wine, with barley and fodder for their animals, and wood, all of which had to be furnished by the taxpayers together with the charges for transport.

33. The payments for the salaries of officials, like other classes of taxation, also seem to have been grouped under the name of customary dues; but the instances of their occurrence do not furnish material for classification.

CHAPTER IX

THE ROMAN ARMY IN EGYPT

1. IN the early years of the reign of Augustus, the Roman garrison of Egypt consisted of three legions, one of which was stationed at Alexandria and a second at Babylon; nine cohorts, three being at Alexandria and three at Syene; and three *alæ*. This strength was probably determined provisionally, as the exact needs of the situation must have been rather obscure: there was no definite frontier, except on the north, although on the east and west the desert indicated the limits of effective occupation; and the risk of raids from Nabatæa on the one hand or Libya on the other would be an unknown quantity, as also would be the temper and strength of the kingdom of Meroë, the nearest organised neighbour on the south. Moreover, Augustus might well feel uncertain what force would be required to maintain order in the country and cities of Egypt itself: it had a reputation for turbulence, and had done much to justify this reputation under the later kings of the Ptolemaic house.

2. Experience, however, soon showed the Roman authorities that the needs had been over-estimated. Meroë, after a few unimportant encounters, proved quite content to keep the peace if left alone, and a chain of stations extending a few miles up the Nile from the base at Syene was judged sufficient to secure the south. Desert raids were a matter for police, rather than military, precautions. And the elements of disturbance in Egypt were found to be mainly concentrated in Alexandria. So, by the time of Tiberius,

one legion had already been withdrawn, and shortly afterwards both the remaining two were stationed in the camp at Nikopolis by Alexandria.

3. These two legions were the iii Cyrenaica and the xxii Deiotariana, both of which had probably been in Egypt from the beginning of Roman rule: the identity of the third of the original legions cannot be traced. In 83 the same legions are mentioned in a diploma, together with seven cohorts (i Flavia Cilicum equitata, i Hispanorum equitata, ii Ituræorum equitata, iii Ituræorum, i Pannoniorum, i Thebæorum equitata, and ii Thebæorum) and three alæ (Apriana, Augusta, and Commagenorum): there may have been other units in the country from which there were no men discharged, but these probably represent the bulk of the garrison. If this is so, the total strength is calculated at about 16,700 men, as against about 22,800 in the original force.

4. During the reign of Nero other legions had temporarily appeared at Alexandria, but they formed no part of the regular garrison: they had probably been summoned there in the first instance in connexion with Nero's scheme for an expedition to Æthiopia, and later the place provided a convenient base for operations in the Jewish war. More permanent modification of the Roman army of occupation ensued from the addition to it, in or shortly before 109, of the newly raised legion ii Traiana Fortis, which may have been raised for service in the East and provisionally quartered in Egypt, but never left the country (unless for short periods of special service) to the close of its history. The two old legions still had their headquarters at Alexandria in 119, but do not appear subsequently in Egypt: iii Cyrenaica was moved to Bostra by Hadrian soon after, and xxii Deiotariana vanishes altogether.

5. By the reign of Antoninus Pius, then, the legions of Egypt had been reduced to one. On the other hand, the strength of the auxiliaries had been in all probability rather increased: no complete list exists in this period, but casual mentions show that there were at least six

cohorts and four *alæ* in the garrison about 150, and possibly more: if these were all, the total strength would be about 11,100 men. There had been a good deal of change in the units of the auxiliaries, and this continued, as fresh names are found while old ones do not recur; but so far as can be judged the numbers on the whole remained about the same to the time of Diocletian.

6. The cohorts and *alæ* which have left dated documentary evidence of their presence in Egypt during the first three centuries of Roman rule are the following, the earliest and latest dates recorded being added; those marked N.D. were also stationed in Egypt when the *Notitia Dignitatum* was compiled about 425.

Cohorts.—i *Ulpia Afrorum equitata* (Hadrian-177): i *Apamenorum equitata* (144-172, N.D.): i *Flavia Cilicum equitata* (83-217/8): i *Hispanorum equitata* (83-Trajan?): ii *Ituræorum equitata* (39-146/7, N.D.): iii *Ituræorum* (83-103): i *Augusta prætoriana Lusitanorum equitata* (111-288, N.D.): i *Augusta Pannoniorum* (83, N.D.): *scutata civium Romanorum* (143/4, N.D.): i *Thebæorum equitata* (Augustus?-99): ii *Thebæorum* (83-95): ii *Thracum equitata* (167, N.D.).

Alæ.—*Apriana* (83-170, N.D.): *Augusta* (57-103): *Commagenorum* (83): *veterana Gallica* (130-Caracalla, N.D.): *Herculiana* (185-202): i *Thracum Mauretana* (134-288): *Vocontiorum* (59-165).

7. The reorganisation of the army under Diocletian broke up the legions and brought new units into Egypt: as early as 295 detachments of vii *Claudia*, xi *Claudia*, and iv *Flavia* appear at Oxyrhynchos. But there is no material for giving a complete account of the garrison till about 425, when the *Notitia Dignitatum* mentions eight legions, nineteen cohorts, thirty *alæ*, and eleven bodies of horse, as stationed in the country.

8. In the course of the fifth century, the legions disappeared entirely from the Byzantine army-system, and their place was taken by the *numeri*, whose organisation seems to have been fully developed under

Justinian. Many *numeri* occur in the documents of this period, sometimes designated by an official title, sometimes by the name of the town where one was stationed; and it is difficult to disentangle the units. But it seems probable that a *numerus* or detachment was quartered at each large town, from which details could be sent at need into the neighbouring villages, while stronger garrisons would occupy the *castra* of the frontier districts; the troops in the former case would be *comitatenses*, in the latter *limitanei*. There is no certain evidence of the presence in Egypt of *fœderati* or "allies"; but the large landed proprietors frequently had bodies of armed men in their pay, though these irregular mercenaries would be more of a danger than a help to the government; they were known as *bucellarii*.

9. The coast of the Delta was guarded by the *classis Augusta Alexandrina*, which was probably created by Augustus, though it is not definitely mentioned till the time of Nero; and the authorities of the fleet were responsible for supervising the transport of corn on the Nile, and doubtless also for convoying the cornships from Alexandria into Italian waters. The duty of providing for the safe carriage of the corn-supply was still incumbent on the commanders of the fleet in the fifth century.

10. The details available as to the nationality of the soldiers serving in Egypt show a constant tendency to rely more and more on local recruiting. In the period up to 119, out of sixty-one legionaries whose origin is recorded, thirteen came from Egypt and forty from other parts of the East: it is noteworthy that four were born in the camps, thus representing a type of recruit who does not appear elsewhere in the empire till later, and may be due to a tradition of hereditary service in Egypt. In the second and third centuries, out of forty-six, thirty came from Egypt and eight from the rest of the East; of the thirty, twenty-two were camp-born. The Byzantine troops were probably almost entirely of local origin; recruiting was a com-

pulsory duty on the communes, which had to pay a fixed sum in lieu of any man missing from their quota ; and the landowners were grouped for the supply of recruits, each group being required to furnish a man or pay a volunteer. These recruits might be drafted



FIG. 64.—Tombstone of Aurelius Alexander, signifer of Leg. II. (Alexandria Museum.)



FIG. 65.—Tombstone of Aurelius Sabius, soldier of Leg. II. (Alexandria Museum.)

to other provinces, but the names of the soldiers occurring in Egyptian documents have a generally Egyptian appearance ; and, as the troops in Egypt were garrison, not field-armies, it is probable that even if Egyptian recruits were sent abroad for field-service, not many men would be brought into Egypt for garrison duty.

11. The whole history of the Roman army of occupation in Egypt shows very few records of its taking part in any campaigns beyond the frontier, or even of having to meet any organised opposition in the country. After the expeditions in the early part of the reign of Augustus up the Nile and into Arabia—the latter of which was partially manned from elsewhere than Egypt—the first century A.D. was a period of almost complete peace in Egypt: from time to time detachments of the legions were detailed to join other armies, as, for instance, that of Corbulo in the Parthian expedition of Nero, that of Vespasian in Palestine, and that of Trajan against Parthia; but this would be the only experience that any of the troops would get of regular warfare. In the second century there were two serious internal revolts, that of the Jews under Trajan and Hadrian, and the Bucolic in 172, but these do not seem to have involved anything beyond guerrilla fighting. The first organised invasion of Roman Egypt was by the Palmyrenes in 268, and resulted in the practical loss of the country, though only temporarily. Thereafter the chief task of the military authorities was to keep in check the raids of the Blemyes from the south and the Libyan tribes from the west, which were often severe, but seldom of long duration. A Persian attack on the Delta in 501 was not sustained; but a little more than a century later the attack was repeated with complete success, and it was ten years before the invaders were expelled. The Romans had barely got possession of Egypt once more when a fresh invasion from the east by the Arabs deprived them of it finally.

12. It would appear therefore that the Roman garrison was not sufficient to meet an attack in force from without, though it could undertake the work of policing the country and guarding against sedition among the inhabitants or freebooting by its neighbours. And this is probably what it was designed to do, and its strength was calculated accordingly: it is noticeable that there was a gradual increase in the proportion of mounted troops, which would be specially valuable for

dealing with raids from the desert, and in the middle of the second century a section of a cohort stationed in Upper Egypt was mounted on camels. The police duties of the army were of very varied kinds: besides the maintenance of the peace, for which purpose a centurion and a few men would be detailed to a village to act with and stiffen the local constabulary, instances occur in which soldiers were told off to take guard at public buildings or works, such as the granaries, mint, papyrus-factories, and harbour at Alexandria; detachments were posted at the quarries and at the watering-places of the eastern desert; and the making of roads and maintenance of canals by forced labour seems at times to have been carried out under military supervision. The government also used the services of the army to assist in the collection of taxes; and in the Byzantine period the importance of this function increased.

13. The whole of the troops in the country were organised as a single force, under the command of the prefect, until the time of Diocletian. The military centre was Alexandria, which was the sole legionary depot after the reign of Tiberius, and probably was also the headquarters of the auxiliary forces. For the defence of the Delta, based on the triangle Alexandria-Babylon-Pelusium, there were probably stations along the roads from Alexandria to Babylon on the west and Pelusium to Babylon on the east, in the latter case with advanced posts across the isthmus of Suez from Pelusium to Klysma: the principal camp in this region was at Heroonpolis. Babylon must have been strongly occupied, and probably Pelusium also. Farther up the valley there seem only to have been detachments in the principal towns of Middle Egypt; but in the Thebaid Koptos was an important point as the key to the roads leading to the Red Sea and quarries, and there is evidence which suggests that it was held by a substantial force. Farther south there were certainly camps at Ophieion in Thebes and at Contrapollinis, and at Syene a garrison held the line of the First Cataract. Beyond

this the effective Roman occupation only extended over the region known as the Dodekaschoinos reaching up to Hierasykaminos: this was organised as a sort of military frontier, with a string of seven or eight posts along the river, by Petronius in the earliest years of Roman rule, and was not definitely abandoned till the time of Diocletian.

14. The only actual change in the frontier-lines made by Diocletian consisted in this withdrawal to the First Cataract: the defences of Syene and Philæ were



FIG. 66.—Temple at Hierasykaminos: limit of Roman occupation.

strengthened, and the Nubian tribes subsidised to create a buffer-state. The Egyptian army continued to be organised as one force for the whole country, but the command was taken from the prefect and given to a purely military duke. About a century later the army was divided, and the troops in Lower and Middle Egypt were placed under the count of Egypt, those in the Thebaid under a duke who also had charge of Libya. This arrangement virtually subsisted till the time of Justinian, when the Nile valley was split up between four dukes, who held civil as well as military authority, their districts being Egypt (the western Delta), August-

amnica (the eastern Delta), Arcadia (Middle Egypt), and the Thebaid.

15. The separation of command seems to have been accompanied by a general subdivision of forces: at any rate so far as can be traced the Byzantine numeri, about 500 strong, were organised as independent units, and acted each in its own district with no attempt at co-operation with its neighbours. This scheme might work passably well so long as the duties of the troops were only those of police, but was fatal when the problem was one of coping with an invading army. Conformably with this policy of disintegration, the defence of the country was based on isolated garrison-towns furnished with some kind of fortifications: only on the east and west of the Delta are there traces of anything like a connected system of posts, with a line of castra supported by walled towns; at the First Cataract also the group of forts at Philæ and Syene formed a considerable position.

CHAPTER X

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

1. THE religious ideas of the indigenous population of Egypt had by the time of the Roman conquest been influenced and modified to a considerable extent by those of the Greeks, especially in the districts where there was most mixture of races. The process of modification had gone forward, however, unequally in different directions: some of the old Egyptian gods remained almost unaffected, even in quarters where there was a strong Greek element; others were brought into contact with Hellenic religion by a nominal identification with those Greek divinities who seemed most nearly to resemble them; while the attributes and cults of others were largely remodelled in accordance with Greek ideas. In addition to these varying developments of Egyptian theology, there are some traces of purely Hellenic worship in centres of Greek influence; and a certain stratum of Roman practice was naturally introduced in official and military circles under the new government. Outside of all the rest—Egyptian, Greek, and Roman—stood the Jews, who had exercised little or no influence on the ideas of the Egyptians, and were unaffected in their turn by Egyptian theology; although the effects of contact with the Hellenistic philosophy of Alexandria are strongly marked in some of the later Jewish writings.

2. The Romans, in accordance with the policy of religious tolerance which they normally pursued in dealing with subject nations wherever it was consistent with the maintenance of their own temporal supremacy,

did not interfere with the exercise of either Egyptian or Greek worship in Egypt. Augustus, as previously mentioned, took steps to secure that the Egyptian priesthood should not form a focus for nationalist opposition to his rule, as it had done to that of the later Ptolemies, by placing the lands of the temples under government control and centralising the whole organisation of religion under a Roman official as titular high-priest of Alexandria and all Egypt. But this measure, though thoroughly effective—as is shown by the fact that all the nationalist disturbances of the earlier years of Roman rule were started by the mob of Alexandria, which was more Greek than Egyptian, and it was not till over two centuries after the conquest that a priest appeared as leader of a native revolt—would not be likely to affect the worshippers in the temples, or even the rank and file of the priests: the old “sacred” taxes were collected under the same names, the land which had formed part of the temple endowments was still officially described as “sacred,” and the formation of a special department of the treasury made it appear that ecclesiastical revenues were kept separate from ordinary lay funds. There was nothing involved in the handing over of the general management of religion to a Roman commissioner to hurt the feelings of the Egyptian peasantry, and it is quite likely that the change passed unnoticed by the laity in most of the villages.

3. The new secular head of the Egyptian priesthood was the *idiologos*, and the collection of precedents (the *Gnomon*), of which a copy compiled about 150 A.D. has been preserved, shows how minutely his office supervised all the arrangements of the temples and the life of their staff. The order of the hierarchy, the tenure of posts, the performance of duties, the dress of the priests, were all governed by his regulations. His inspectors went to the temples to inquire into their management, and could send any recalcitrant under arrest to Alexandria; and the village-scribe was called in to assist his administration by monthly reports on the attendance

of the priests to their work ; while annual returns of the personnel, income and expenditure, and furniture of the temples had to be made to the strategos. His authority was required for the circumcision of a boy who was to be admitted to the priesthood, and before giving it he had to be satisfied that the boy was without blemish and of priestly family. The sale of posts in the temples was also under his control.

4. The direct management of the temples was in the hands of a college of elders chosen annually from among the priests, until the establishment of the local senates in 200 A.D., when the temples were municipalised and their finances passed under the supervision of curators appointed by the senates. In a few instances mention is made of a chief priest or chief prophet, who must be distinguished from the secular high-priest of all Egypt at Alexandria, as having control over a temple: in some cases his competence extended over all the temples of a city, and in one included those of two cities; and it is probable that he was the local supervisor of the colleges of elders, possibly elected annually from among their numbers. The revenue from endowments would be represented by the syntaxis, except in those temples which had been allowed in the Augustan reorganisation to take land in lieu of an annual money-payment; and it may be presumed that there would be certain receipts from fees and offerings: it would also appear that some of the more important temples derived profits from trade, possibly by exploiting the labour of lay-brethren who were attached to them. From this income the management had to meet the salaries of the higher staff, the rations allowed to the officiating priests, the expenses of ceremonial worship, and the taxes levied by the government: the more particularly ecclesiastical taxes were on altars and offerings, but certain other payments had to be made, including poll-tax on all priests above a limited number, and trade-taxes in the case of those temples where any trades were pursued.

5. The officiating staffs of the temples of the Egyptian gods were divided into two main groups: the higher contained the priests in the fullest sense, the lower the attendants, who might be described as deacons. The priests were graded in several classes, the relationship of which is not always clear: it seems certain that the two first in order of rank were the prophets and the stolistai, but the sealers of calves, the feather-bearers, the sacred scribes, and the observers of the sky, who appear after them in various lists, which sometimes wind up with a generic mention of therest of the priests, cannot be so definitely placed, and it may be that they only represent groups of priests of the third class who had been detailed for special duties; though, as an extra fee above that for admission to the office of priest had



FIG. 67.—Column with figures of priests: at Rome. (Photo. by W. M. F. Petrie.)

to be paid by the feather-bearers, the special duty seemingly carried some advance in status. It was required that there should be a prophet in every temple which possessed a shrine, and his position carried with it one-fifth of the revenue of the temple: the office was an hereditary one, but admission to it might also be purchased under certain conditions from the State, presum-

ably in the event of a failure of heirs to a post, which was then sold to the highest bidder as a freehold, subject only to the payment of a fee of two hundred drachmas on the succession of any fresh holder. The office of stolistes is also described as one which could be sold, but it is not clear whether it was auctioned like that of the prophet: the records of the temple of Tebtunis only show that the stolistai there had paid a fee of one hundred drachmas each, in addition to the fee of fifty-two drachmas for admission to the priesthood; but as they were all hereditary priests, it is possible that the post of stolistes was not purely hereditary, but was filled up from the ranks of the priestly families. There was a salary attached to it, but the amount is not given. The sealers of the sacrificial calves, whose inspection of the victims to be offered carried a fee to the State, were chosen from the ranks of the priests, and apparently existed only in the more important temples, in which alone their services were likely to be required. The pteraphoros, or feather-bearer, was likewise chosen from among the priests, having, as mentioned above, to pay an admission fee for his office, which was of fifty drachmas, in addition to his fee as priest. The same procedure may be assumed for the sacred scribes, who occur in various records as consulted by the high-priest on the bodily fitness of candidates for circumcision, and for the observers, whose continued existence as religious functionaries in Roman times is known only from literary sources. The priests generally, including those who had no special title, formed an hereditary class: as has been noted, they were required to pass an examination in regard to their bodily fitness, and in some cases apparently in knowledge of hieratic and Egyptian writing, before admission to the order, and paid a fee to the State: they received a regular allowance, which continued even if they were disabled by sickness.

6. In the lower order of the temple staffs, the attendants, the most conspicuous place was occupied by the pastophoroi, who carried the sacred bark at the

head of the procession of the god ; but they were definitely forbidden to represent themselves as priests or to undertake priestly functions : they were technically laymen, and as such were permitted to pursue private occupations, from which priests were debarred. Other bodies of attendants were concerned with the keeping and the burying of the sacred animals, and their functions were sharply marked off : the burier might not also be keeper, nor might he act as *pastophoros* ; still less could he exercise higher functions. It is not clear whether the various groups of workmen concerned with the mummification of human bodies, who had ranked among the temple-attendants in earlier times, continued to do so under the Roman empire : in the absence of any evidence that they did, the presumption is rather against it. The musicians of the temples also seem to have been classed with the lower grade of attendants.

7. Both higher and lower officers in the temple-service were required to conform to certain rules as to dress : they were not allowed to wear wool or to let their hair grow long, and any breach of these regulations might be visited with punishment by a fine. The *stolistai* and other priests were also forbidden to take any outside work or neglect their sacred duties, but this restriction did not extend to the attendants. As the staffs of the temples were not large, and festivals were frequent, the priests had probably plenty of occupation : in the temple of Tebtunis, which was one of the more important type, there were apparently only three *stolistai* and one *pteraphoros*, including whom the total staff of priests exempt from poll-tax, which presumably means the recognised establishment of the temple, numbered fifty ; and a special regulation of the *idiologos* authorised temples which were short of priests to borrow them from other temples for the purposes of solemn processions.

(a) *Egyptian Cults.*

8. A good example of the persistence of a native Egyptian worship without any substantial intermixture

of Greek ideas may be found in the case of the crocodile-god Sobk, of whose cult under various forms in the Fayûm, where he was recognised as the chief god of the nome, as well as at a few points on the Nile, such as Akoris (Tehneh), Pathyris (Gebelên), and Silsilis, numerous records exist dating from Græco-Roman times. His name was Hellenised as Souchos, and at Arsinoe, the capital of the Fayûm, there was a

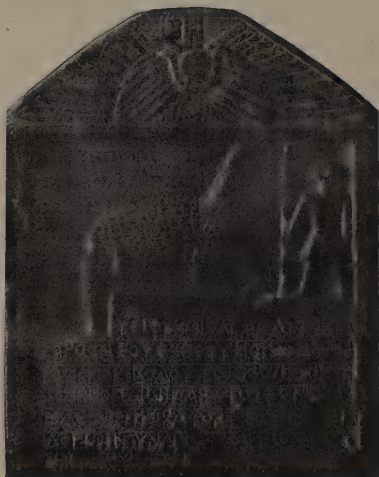


FIG. 68.—Stele from Soknopaiou Nesos.
(Cairo Museum.)

temple dedicated to him: local variants in the neighbouring villages were Soknebtunis at Tebtunis, Soknopaios at Soknopaiou Nesos, Sokopichonsis at Tebtunis, Sokonokonnis (or Sokanobkoneus) at Bacchias, Sokonpiaais at Soknopaiou Nesos, and Petesouchos at Karanis, as well as Phemnoeris at Hexapotamon and Pnepheros at Karanis, who were likewise crocodile-gods, though their names were not compounds

of Souchos. The god, however, though his name was softened to suit Greek speakers, and homage was addressed to him by men apparently of Greek descent, was never represented in a human shape: he was always the crocodile, and so appears on stelæ and on the coins of the nome: Soknopaios occurs as a crocodile with a hawk's head, which suggests that he had solar attributes and was connected with Horus. The sacred crocodile which was kept in the precinct of the temple at Arsinoe as the embodiment of the deity was

one of the regular sights for tourists in Roman as in Ptolemaic times. There seems to have been a half-hearted attempt at Tebtunis to equate the local deity with a Greek god, as papyri of the first and second centuries A.D. refer to "Soknebtunis who is Kronos": the course of the equation may have been that in Upper Egypt Sobk had been identified with Geb, and Geb was regarded as the equivalent of Kronos; but there is no trace of the connexion at any other centre of crocodile-worship.

9. The position of Sobk in relation to the Greeks may be paralleled by that of the hippopotamus-goddess Taurt. At Oxyrhynchos, where she was the chief



FIG. 69. — Athene :
Coin of Gallienus.
(British Museum.)



FIG. 70. — Temple of Athene :
Coin of Antoninus Pius.
(British Museum.)

local deity, she was given a Greek equivalent in Athene, presumably in view of their common warlike attributes; but she was always known under a Hellenised form of her Egyptian name as Thoeris, and her temple was the Thoereion. The only references to Athene-Thoeris are in a mention of her sacred artisans and another of a golden statue (xoanon) of her: it would be interesting to know whether the xoanon represented her in human or in animal form. The nome-coins bear the figure of Athene, but this embodies the Alexandrian rather than the Oxyrhynchite conception: it is worth noting, however, that the third-century leaden tokens of Oxyrhynchos, which are almost certainly local productions, also have as their types a figure or bust of Athene of Greek style.

10. There was apparently no attempt whatever made to identify another popular Egyptian deity, Bes, with any Greek equivalent. His position in the Egyptian religious system was indeed somewhat peculiar: a god of inferior rank, he received practically no official recognition, nor were temples dedicated to him; but he was a prominent figure in magic. So, in the earlier Græco-Roman period, he is not mentioned in religious



FIG. 71.—Figure of Bes: Tentyra. (Photo. by W. M. F. Petrie.)

inscriptions or in papyri, nor represented, except for what seem to be purely decorative purposes, on the walls of sacred buildings; but he must have been widely worshipped among the lower classes, as terracotta statuettes of him are common, and bronze figures not infrequent: a list of the temple treasures of Soknopaiou Nesos, towards the end of the second century, includes a silver and a bronze Bes. With the incrudescence of magic, he grew in importance,

and even seems to have obtained the chief place in the temple of Abydos, the centre of the worship of Osiris : an oracle of Bes was established there, and flourished till its suppression in the reign of Constantius II., and graffiti of homage to him still exist on the walls of the temple. At Memphis also Bes appears to have obtained a footing in the Sarapeion in Roman times, as a room has been found there decorated with figures of him and



FIG. 72.—Greek votive inscriptions : quarries of Khardassi.

his worshippers. The Abydos graffiti and the magical papyri show that the oracles of Bes were given through dreams, and this may have assisted his establishment at Memphis, where dream-oracles were a long-recognised business of the Sarapeion.

II. An instance of purely local survival of a native cult is to be found in the district above the First Cataract, at Talmis, where numerous graffiti of homage to Mandoulis written in Greek occur. They are nearly all the work of soldiers belonging to the Roman garri-

son at that post, and so far as they are dated fall into the period from Domitian to Antoninus Pius. But though the language of the dedicators is Greek, there is no evidence that the worship was Hellenised in any way: the soldiers, who were nearly all auxiliaries and probably natives of the Eastern provinces, would accept the chief deity of the spot where they found themselves stationed without troubling themselves over-much about theological details. A similar instance from the same region is furnished by the inscriptions at the quarries of Khardassi, which are of somewhat later date, ranging over the first half of the third century: here the local deities were named as Srouptichis and Poursepmoneus: the workers at the quarries were mainly Egyptians, but some of the head-men, who came from Ptolemais, may have been of Greek descent. Probably if any material for equation of the local god with a Greek had existed, it would have been utilised: as at Pselkis Pautnuphis was identified with Hermes on the strength of a previous identification with Thoth, and at Silsilis Nephotes with Zeus, the link being probably Khnum: but since no obvious equivalent presented itself, the worshippers, whose language might be Greek but whose thoughts were not, transliterated instead of translating the name and treated the theological conception in the same summary fashion.

12. A somewhat different position was held by the worship of the sacred bulls, Apis and Mnevis, which so far as is known were the only animal-cults which had the distinction of receiving recognition from the government of Alexandria. All the Egyptian temples were required to furnish supplies of linen on the occasion of the death and funeral of one of these bulls, and this was specifically enforced by a decision recorded in the Gnomon of the idiologos as high-priest. The exceptional importance of these cults, and the fanatical excitement which they aroused in the native population, probably prompted this recognition as a matter of prudence, and crown princes, Germanicus and Titus, honoured Apis by their visits; though to the ordinary

Roman tourist Apis at Memphis or Mnevis at Heliopolis was only a show-beast like the crocodile Souchos at Arsinoe. The sacred bull is also a not uncommon type on the coins struck at Alexandria, in which respect he ranks with the hawk of Horus, the Agathodæmon-serpent of Sarapis, and the Uraeus-serpent of Isis: most of the animals worshipped in Egypt only occur, if at all, on the rare special series of bronze coins issued to represent the various nomes.

13. The worship of Nilus and his consort Euthenia can be regarded as definitely Egyptian, though the Greeks developed an artistic type of their own for the



FIG. 73.—Nilus: Coin of Nero. (Ashmolean Museum.)



FIG. 74.—Nilus with sixteen cubit Genii: Coin of Domitian. (Ashmolean Museum.)



FIG. 75.—Nilus: Coin of Trajan. (British Museum.)

river-god, as an old man reclining or seated with a hippopotamus or crocodile beside him, and sometimes attended by small genii up to the number of sixteen, who represent the cubits of the flood-rise; and Euthenia similarly occurs in a Greek rendering. There is, however, little detail in the papyri about this cult, which must have persisted throughout Egypt, beyond the mention of festivals at Arsinoe and Oxyrhynchos. There are also occasional references in papyri and inscriptions to other native deities for whom no Greek equivalent was found, such as Chonsis and Mendes at Onnes in the Herakleopolite nome, Mestasutmis and Pakusis in the Fayûm, Tithoes near Koptos, Thriphis

at Panopolis and Athribis; but they do not throw much light on the status of the cults. It is, however, probable that the old beliefs were more alive in the Roman period than would be suggested by the comparative paucity of records concerning them in documents or on monuments: this is particularly illustrated by the evidence available with regard to the worship of Osiris, which requires separate treatment. It must be remembered that the devotees concerned with them would be mainly of a poor and illiterate class; and the special attacks made on the worship

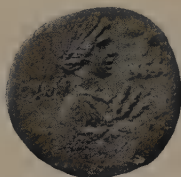


FIG. 76.—Euthenia:
Coin of Livia.
(British Museum.)

of animals by the early Christian Fathers show that it must have had a strong hold on the people.

(b) *Egyptian Cults identified with Greek.*

14. Even when a native Egyptian deity had been equated with a Greek one and was addressed by a purely Greek name, it is very doubtful whether the identification was more than an outward show in most instances, and the worshipper was not really using the Greek name simply as the verbal equivalent of the Egyptian one because he happened to be writing in Greek. There is very little evidence, as will be seen, of purely Greek worship in Egypt in the Roman period; and the confusion which arises in the application of Greek names from the attempt to fit them to the complex Egyptian divine personalities shows that there was no system which had been worked out on a logical basis. The correspondence between the two theogonies was indeed largely a matter of literary tradition: Greek writers, from Herodotus onwards, had formulated lists of identifications on very slender knowledge of the facts; and a kind of official recognition was given to some of these in the Greek names of the chief towns, which were usually formed from the name of the Greek

god who was regarded as the representative of the presiding local Egyptian one. But the Greek settlers after the conquest came up against many native deities who had not been known to earlier investigators ; and, if they did not, as in the case of the crocodile-gods of the Fayûm, abandon the attempt to discover Olympian equivalents, they would adopt the first Homeric name that seemed suitable, without regard as to whether it had been used in some other part of Egypt for another god ; so that one Greek god may be found representing two different Egyptians, or two Greeks the same Egyptian ; and the confusion that results is curious.

15. The cases of the local identifications of Kronos with Sobk and Athene with Taurt have been discussed above ; and there are several parallels. Thus Artemis was theoretically equated with Bastet and Pakhet ; but there is no trace of the use of the name Artemis in worship after Ptolemaic times except for a single late dedication from Alexandria, and the only representations of the Greek goddess are on a few Alexandrian coins. Bastet, however, in the Hellenised form Boubastis, occurs more frequently in the Roman period, at Alexandria, Arsinoe, and Hermopolis ; and there is no reason to think that she was worshipped otherwise than on Egyptian lines. Similarly, Hephaistos had been identified with Ptah ; but Hephaistos is absolutely unrepresented in records of the Roman period, though there is a mixed Græco-Egyptian coin-type of Ptah-Hephaistos : on the other hand, the purely Egyptian Ptah-Sokar-Osiris is also found as a coin-type, and his name occurs on Egyptian monuments.

16. In other cases the Olympian name was used in preference to the Hellenised form of the Egyptian, but the underlying conception is clearly that of the Egyptian deity. For instance, Hera was regarded at the First Cataract as the equivalent of Sati the consort of Khnum,



FIG. 77.—Ptah-Sokar-Osiris : Coin of Hadrian. (British Museum.)

and at Thebes as of Mut the consort of Amen, both these identifications being carried by that of the husband in each case with Zeus; but the Egyptian names do not occur after Ptolemaic times in Greek inscriptions which are addressed to Hera, though the terms and associations of the dedications leave no doubt that it is the Egyptian goddess who is really approached. Kronos, again, is mentioned on a stela of purely Egyptian style from Koptos, where he was equated with Geb: it is practically certain that here the wor-



FIG. 78. — Ares :
Coin of Hadrian.
(Ashmolean Mu-
seum.)

shipper had the local god in mind. And the Ares who had a temple at Oxyrhynchos and sacred property in the Sebennyte nome was not, in all likelihood, the Greek Ares, but the Egyptian warrior-deity with whom he had been identified and whose name was transmuted into Onouris, though this form was not used in Roman inscriptions. It may be noted that Hera and Kronos do not occur among the regular Alexandrian coin-types:

some of the warrior-figures on the coins may, however, be intended for Ares, and certainly that which is found on the Upper Sebennyte coins in the nome-series as the representation of the local god is derived from the Greek Ares.

17. The process of identification became so complicated that it is sometimes difficult to decide what is the divine figure really implied in a dedication. Hermes supplies an example of the ramifications which arose: he was traditionally the equivalent of Thoth, the Egyptian god of learning. Thoth, as a moon-god, had been united in Upper Egypt with another moon-god Khonsu; but Khonsu had been independently identified with Herakles; so Thoth-Khonsu was translated into Greek as Hermes-Herakles. But Hermes had also

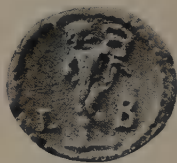


FIG. 79.—Hermes :
Coin of Claudius
II. (British Mu-
seum.)

been equated with Anubis, who, as guide of the souls of the dead into the presence of Osiris, had functions similar to those of Hermes Psychopompos in Greek mythology: there was a compound form of Horus and Anubis, Harmanup, whose name readily passed into Hermanubis and so aided the assimilation with Hermes. Then the solar attributes of Horus passed to Hermanubis, who thus was identified with Helios. But the balance between Greek and Egyptian ideas in the two lines of equation differed notably: Hermes-Thoth was, in Roman times, nearly always named as Hermes:



FIG. 80.—Herakles:
Coin of Trajan.
(Ashmolean Museum.)



FIG. 81.—Hermanubis:
Coin of Hadrian.
(British Museum.)

the Hermaion at Hermopolis, where the Egyptian god of the city was Thoth, is an instance, though there is one document in which the native name of the god is Hellenised as Thotoperios; and similarly the Hermaion which existed in the second century at Arsinoe may be taken to have belonged to this side of the Hermes-worship, as earlier records show the association of the Hermaia in the Fayûm with the ibis, the sacred bird of Thoth. But the name of Hermanubis is rarely used in religious documents; on the other hand, dedications to Anubis are fairly frequent from several centres. The artistic preference, however, is distinctly for a Greek type of Hermanubis, who is represented, like Hermes, as a youth carrying the herald's staff, but also holds a palm branch and has on his head the modius, and is attended by the sacred jackal of Anubis: as Helios-Hermanubis he wears a radiated diadem. On purely Egyptian monuments, such as grave-stelæ, the figure of Anubis is that

of the jackal-headed god, without any trace of Greek influence. And both the older lines of identification of Hermes were brought together in later magic: for instance, a fourth-century papyrus gives the four shapes of Hermes in the four quarters of heaven as the ibis, the baboon, the snake, and the wolf: of these the first two belong to Thoth, the last to Anubis; though it was essentially Hermes-Thoth who developed into Hermes Trismegistus of the Middle Ages as the depository of all magical knowledge.

18. Apollo was traditionally identified with Horus; but, though Horus in various forms was one of the most widely worshipped gods in Egypt at the time of the Roman conquest and after, dedications in the



FIG. 82. — Apollo:
Coin of Nero.
(British Museum.)

name of Apollo are rare; and this fact may illustrate how the names of the Greek deities were used purely as a convenient translation of Egyptian names which did not sound familiar. The most popular form of Horus in worship at this time was Har-pa-khruti, a name which when softened into Harpokrates might pass for Greek; and so there was no need for the sake

of euphony to call the god Apollo instead of Harpokrates. At places where the local title of Horus did not Hellenise so conveniently—such as Ombos, where Horus was Har-uer, which as Haroeris looked rather barbaric—the name of Apollo was used in dedications; but his position, as merely the equivalent of the native god, is clear, for instance, from such a dedication as one from Senskis in the Eastern desert, where a temple was erected to Sarapis, Isis, and Apollo: here Apollo simply fills the place of Harpokrates in the regular Alexandrian triad.

19. The Greek element was perhaps more strongly marked in the fusion of Zeus with various Egyptian gods: this was partly no doubt due to the long-standing recognition by the Greeks of the oracle of Ammon in

the Oasis of Siwa as a manifestation of Zeus, partly to the semi-Greek character of Sarapis, with whom he was largely identified. The power of the priesthood



FIG. 83.—Zeus Ammon: Coin of Hadrian. (British Museum.)



FIG. 84.—Pantheistic Zeus Sarapis: Coin of Hadrian. (British Museum.)

of Amen-ra at Thebes had declined under the later Ptolemies: an early Roman reference to the worship of Amonrasonther there occurs, and a bilingual



FIG. 85.—Temple of Zeus: Coin of Trajan. (British Museum.)



FIG. 86.—Zeus: Coin of Trajan. (British Museum.)

dedication to Zeus Helios Ammon from Karnak is dated late in the second century; but the commonest form of title in the Roman period is Zeus Helios Sarapis, the second member of which represents the solar attributes of Ra in a Greek translation. In one instance, however, the Egyptian conception seems to

be predominant: a Latin inscription from a quarry near the First Cataract names Jupiter Ammon Chnubis, where the influence of the ram-god Amen has brought fusion with a second ram-god Khnum. And there was still some independent worship of Ammon, apparently without any correlation with Zeus, at various points, notably at Akoris until the end of the third century A.D.

20. There is also a strong Greek element in the worship of Athene at Sais, where she was identified with Neit; which contrasts with the predominance of the Egyptian factor in that of Athene-Thoeris at Oxyrhynchos already described. Here, as in the case of Zeus Ammon in the Oasis, there was an old literary connexion with Greece: Sais was declared to be the mother-city of Athens, and Athene to have been derived from the Saite goddess. The type of Athene at Sais was always purely Greek, and as late as the third century A.D. a magistrate of "the Cecropian city of Sais" erected a statue of "Tritogeneia": the name of Neit does not seem to occur either alone or in compound with that of Athene.

21. So far as can be determined, the Greek tradition was predominant in the worship of Asklepios, who had



FIG. 87.—Asklepios: Coin of Severus Alexander. (British Museum.)



FIG. 88.—Hygieia: Coin of Severus Alexander. (British Museum.)

taken the place of the deified sage Imhotep at Philæ, Deir-el-bahri in the Theban necropolis, and Memphis: the records of the sanatorium at Deir-el-bahri, which

continued to be much frequented during the first two centuries A.D., certainly point to this conclusion; and an inscription containing an invocation of Asklepios and Hygieia on the occasion of the restoration of their temple at Ptolemais is purely Greek in tone. The graffiti of homage to Pan found at several points in the Eastern desert and in quarries near Ptolemais also seem to be addressed to the Greek divinity, who had been identified with Min as the warden of the desert; though the associations in which the name of Pan occurs in dedications from the towns of the valley, such as Koptos and Panopolis, look rather as if there it was used simply as a translation of Min. The clearest evidence of Greek predominance is in the case of Aphrodite, whose equation with the Egyptian Hathor was due to their common position as goddesses of love: in official documents, indeed, such as the dedication inscription of the pronaos of the temple at Tentyra under Tiberius to Aphrodite, there may be no real Greek ideas imported, but merely an equivalent name employed, as the name of Hathor occurs at the same place in demotic inscriptions very little earlier in date; so also at Ombos the Aphrodite to whom a temple was erected in the reign of Domitian was possibly Hathor as consort of Sobk. But the terra-cotta or bronze figurines of Aphrodite of Greek type which are found frequently on Græco-Roman sites in Egypt prove that she was conceived by the populace as a Greek goddess; and it is doubtless figurines of this kind which are frequently mentioned in inventories of feminine possessions, especially of dowries. Statues and statuettes of Aphrodite are indeed more common in Egypt than those of any other Greek divinity: it is perhaps noteworthy that a marble statue of her was dedicated in the middle of the second century A.D. by a man whose name is purely Egyptian.

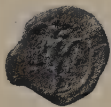


FIG. 89.—Pan:
Coin of Hadrian.
(British Museum.)

(c) Greek Cults.

22. From the foregoing review it will be seen that the worship of the Greek gods in Egypt was rarely more than nominal. At a centre of Greek influence



FIG. 90.—Poseidon :
Coin of Claudius
II. (British Mu-
seum.)



FIG. 91. — Kybele :
Coin of Julia
Domna. (British
Museum.)

like Ptolemais there might be more of the Hellenic feeling towards the Homeric gods preserved, as shown in the case of the pæan to Asklepios mentioned; and at Alexandria there was certainly an artistic tradition derived from Greece which found expression on the



FIG. 92.—Artemis :
Coin of Antoninus
Pius. (British Mu-
seum.)



FIG. 93. — Triptole-
mos : Coin of Had-
rian. (British Mu-
seum.)

coins and probably in the buildings. But Alexandria stood apart from the rest of Egypt; and if the designers at the mint there chose to adopt such types as Poseidon, Kybele, Artemis the huntress, or Triptolemos, these bear no sign of Egyptian influence, but are closely related to the types used in the west of Asia Minor :

this relationship is still more clearly marked in such pictorial designs as Dionysos in a biga of panthers, or



FIG. 94. — Dionysos: Coin of Trajan. (British Museum.)



FIG. 95.—Rape of Persephone: Coin of Trajan. (British Museum.)

the rape of Persephone, and in the figure of the Milesian Apollo on coins of Antoninus Pius. A noteworthy example of exotic types is in the series of Nero which shows the busts of the deities to whom the Greek œcumenical games were dedicated—Zeus of Olympia and of Nemea, Hera of Argos, Poseidon of the Isthmus, Apollo of Delphi and of Actium. The choice in these cases cannot have been prompted by any connexion with Egypt, and the Alexandrian artists are not to be taken as guides to the religious ideas of the country.



FIG. 96.—Hera of Argos: Coin of Nero. (British Museum.)

23. There are, however, some rare indications that Greeks in other parts of the country besides Alexandria and Ptolemais did occasionally follow Hellenic ritual: for instance, a papyrus of the second or third century A.D. contains a complaint against certain worshippers in the temple of Apollo at Hermopolis that they behaved contrary to Egyptian custom, sang hymns in a foreign tongue, and sacrificed goats and rams—in other words, that they worshipped Apollo according

to Greek tradition. An inventory of temple property from Oxyrhynchos dated in the reign of Caracalla refers to objects preserved in the temples or shrines of Zeus, Hera, Atargatis Bethennunis, Kore, Dionysos, Apollo, and Neotera in the Oxyrhynchite and Kynopolite nomes: there is no hint of any equation with Egyptian deities, and the association seems primarily Greek, with the addition of the Syrian Atargatis in honour of the empress-mother Julia Domna: the names of the dedicators of the objects are in most cases Greek, and the use of Parian marble for two of the



FIG. 97.—Dioskouroi: Coin of Trajan. (British Museum.)

statues mentioned and a shrine of Iacchos of foreign stone are also suggestive of Greek ideas. And there was one Greek cult which found devotees throughout the country and seemingly remained uncontaminated by Egyptian influences—that of the Dioskouroi. Their worship may have been spread by Greek sailors on the Nile, as when statues of them were dedicated at Akoris by the captain of the

Alexandrian flotilla, and it is not strange to find a possible reference to a temple of theirs at Ptolemais; but they also had a temple at Oxyrhynchos, and a priest of them occurs in the Hermopolite nome, and a dedication to them at Soknopaiou Nesos; while near the last point, at Bacchias, they are addressed as oracular gods; and the same idea is found at Hermopolis, where a woman built a shrine of the Dioskouroi in pursuance of an oracle she received from them. It would seem that there was no divinity in the Egyptian pantheon who corresponded to the Dioskouroi, and when their worship was introduced it filled a void and so persisted.

24. It is possible that there was also a cult of Demeter according to Greek ritual, as there is a

mention in a papyrus of the annual provision of a pig for the feast of Demeter at Oxyrhynchos, which looks like a following of the practice of Eleusis; and priests and temples of Demeter also occur in the Fayûm. In the absence of any details of the worship, the latter might be taken to refer to Demeter as the equivalent of Isis, which was the traditional equation; but this identification seems to have been primarily a literary one, and to have exercised very little influence on the conception either of Demeter or of Isis in the Roman period. The corresponding literary identification of Dionysos and Osiris was equally unimportant from a practical point of view in the theology of this age: Dionysos was chiefly known in Egypt as the eponym of the guild of Dionysiac artists, whose functions should be considered under another head than that of religion.



FIG. 98.—Demeter:
Coin of Antoninus
Pius. (British
Museum.)

(d) *The Alexandrian Triad.*

25. The old scheme of identification given by Herodotus had in fact been somewhat disturbed as regards Osiris, Isis, and Horus by the developments associated with the invention of Sarapis under the first of the Greek rulers of Egypt. It was found advisable to form a triad for the new dynasty in the new city of Alexandria; and an ingenious eclecticism derived the materials for this triad from Egyptian, Greek, and possibly other sources, and fused them into such attractive shapes as to win acceptance and worship not only in Egypt but throughout the Hellenic world and in Italy. The fusion, however, was not perfect, and in the course of time some of the original elements proved more lasting than others: there are signs that the process of disintegration had begun before the Roman conquest.

26. Sarapis was at this time unquestionably the chief

deity of Alexandria: here the statue originally chosen to represent him was enshrined in the great temple built by Ptolemy Soter. This statue, the type of which is well known, was of purely Greek work; and, if the representations on coins can be trusted, the architectural style of the temple was also Greek: with this the scanty remains found on the site agree. In all probability the worship in the temple was conducted according to Greek ritual:

there are no detailed records concerning it, but the existence of such a definitely Greek adjunct as the neokoros suggests that the priesthood was organised



FIG. 99. — Sarapis:
Coin of Hadrian.
(Ashmolean Museum.)



FIG. 100. — Head of Sarapis. (Petrie
Collection, University College.)



FIG. 101. — Sarapis:
Coin of Hadrian.
(British Museum.)



FIG. 102. — Statue of Sarapis.
(Alexandria Museum.)

on Hellenic lines. At other centres of the cult, however, the Egyptian tradition was stronger: at Memphis the

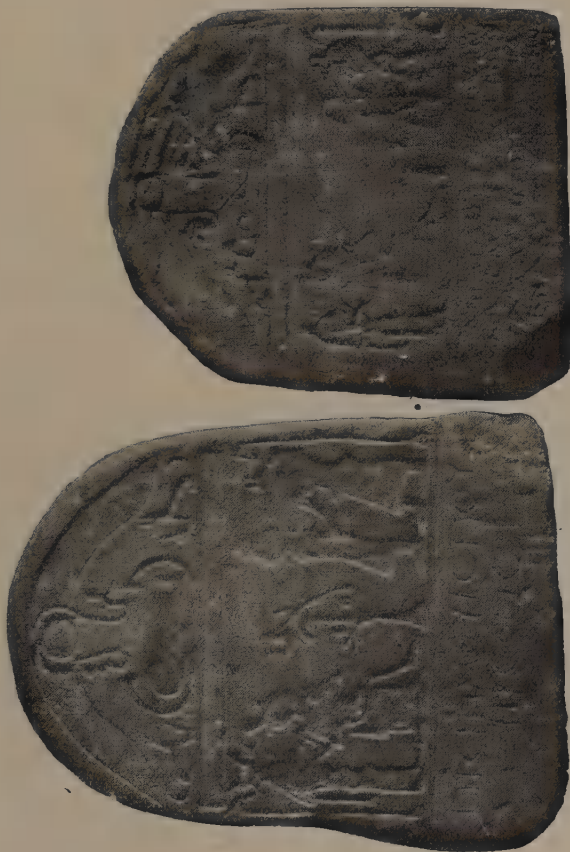


FIG. 103.—Roman tombstones from Abydos. (Cairo Museum.)

Greek temple of Sarapis, which had risen under the Ptolemies by the side of the old funerary temple of the sacred bull Apis, seems to have fallen into decay, while

the Apis-worship still flourished, and the name of Osiris Apis or Osorapis occurs regularly in demotic, and sometimes in Greek, documents, showing a reversion to the original type which it had been intended to absorb in Sarapis. Similarly at Abydos, where Sarapis had supplanted Osiris, the stelæ placed over graves in the cemetery show the Egyptian scene of Osiris as judge of the dead, and when inscribed in hieroglyphic or demotic are addressed to Osiris, though in Greek the name of Sarapis is used: here Sarapis merely becomes a Greek translation of Osiris.

27. There is practically no evidence as to the form of worship adopted at other temples of Sarapis, of which, according to Aristides, there were in the second century A.D. forty-two in Egypt: as this number approximates to that of the nomes into which the country was divided, it is possible that Aristides was thinking of one important temple in each nome, such as that at Oxyrhynchos, which is indicated by references in papyri to have been a building of considerable size, requiring more guards than the theatre or the gymnasium: there are incidental notices of Sarapeia in villages which are not likely to have been included in the summary of the orator. But it is clear that the general tendency throughout the country was to identify Sarapis as the supreme divinity with Zeus, and this reacted on his Egyptian connexions: thus to the Osirian attributes of Sarapis—which were largely chthonic, and expressed in Greek terms by his equation with Hades—were added those of Amen-Ra derived from the traditional form of Zeus Ammon, which brought in the solar element. Zeus Ammon Sarapis having thus been identified with Helios was further joined with Poseidon, to emphasise the universal nature of his dominion, over sea as well as over land, sky, and the lower world. The most comprehensive type is found on Alexandrian coins, where Sarapis is represented wearing the horn of Ammon and the radiate diadem of Helios and carrying the trident of Poseidon, together with the staff of Asklepios, to signify his healing

powers, and the cornucopiæ of Nilus, as the controller of the fertilising flow of the river: and a literary assertion of most of the identifications is given in the Emperor Julian's statement that Sarapis was one with Zeus, Hades, and Helios.

28. It is noteworthy that, although Sarapis was addressed by so many compound names, it is very rare to find a distinctive epithet added: the only special title given to him is Polieus, which occurs in inscriptions at Xoïs and Koptos, and probably refers to him as the city-god of Alexandria. Nor is there any variation in the type by which he is represented, except for the pantheistic one noted above, and another found on coins and seal-rings of a serpent with the head of Sarapis. These circumstances may be explained by the fact that his worship was pre-eminently an official and ceremonial one: the name and the form were hieratically fixed, and, as it was in the great temples, not in the homes of the people, that Sarapis was mainly approached, there was no opportunity for any variation to suit individual tastes. The widest range of types of the Græco-Egyptian gods is found in the bronze or terra-cotta statuettes which served the mass of the population for their household divinities; and such statuettes of Sarapis are rare. So, while Sarapis might be commonly invoked for the welfare of a friend by the



FIG. 104.—Isis and Apis.
(Vatican Museum.)

writer of a letter, and his image was the most favourite device on the seal-rings of the middle classes, and his temple at Oxyrhynchos was a place at which dinners were given, he probably exercised little real influence on the daily life of the average man.

29. The worship of Isis, who had been assigned to Sarapis as his consort by Ptolemy's committee of theological experts, developed on different lines, and retained much more of the Egyptian element. By the time of the Roman conquest her equation with Demeter, as already noted, had ceased to have any practical significance; and she was not generally identified with any other Greek goddess, though there are some traces of assimilation to Aphrodite: this may be due to an

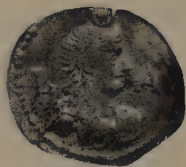


FIG. 105.—Isis: Coin of Nerva. (Ashmolean Museum.)

earlier fusion of Isis with Hathor, the usual Egyptian representative of Aphrodite; but the separate worship of Isis and Hathor certainly persisted at some centres. A long invocation of Isis found at Oxyrhynchos gives the names of the goddess at various towns in Egypt, and among these, besides Aphrodite, are Hera, Athene, Kore, Hestia, Praxidike, and Maia; but there is no evidence of these identifications to be found from other Egyptian sources.



FIG. 106.—Bronze Sistrum; at Naples. (Photo. by W. M. F. Petrie.)

There was, however, no need to equate Isis with any Greek deity to secure her popularity: that was already assured throughout the length of the country, from her temple at Philæ, which still stands, and was one of the last strongholds of the pagans till its closure by Justinian, to that of Alexandria, which, if the representation on coins may be trusted, was of purely Egyptian style, and where she was, as goddess of the Pharos, the protectress of the harbour and the sailors who used it.

30. Except at Philæ and Alexandria, the temples of Isis, though numerous, do not seem to have been important: at the best they were only secondary to those of the local deity or of Sarapis, and in many instances they were probably only wayside chapels.



FIG. 107.—Temple of Isis:
Coin of Trajan. (British
Museum.)



FIG. 108.—Isis Pharia: Coin
of Trajan. (British Mu-
seum.)



FIG. 109.—Isis Sothis: Coin
of Faustina II. (British
Museum.)

The most marked feature of her cult was in the distinctive names or epithets by which she was known at different centres: the Oxyrhynchos invocation mentions some seventy towns or nomes in which Isis was

worshipped in Lower Egypt, each of which had its special title for the goddess, and some more than one, the maximum being five at Naukratis; and besides these several other epithets are given by documents from parts of Egypt not covered by the sections of the invocation which are preserved. There is less variation in the artistic types of Isis, which are usually conceived on Egyptian lines, though the treatment of details may be modified by Greek influences: at Alexandria, however, there are some specialised coin-types of Greek style, such as Isis Pharia holding a sail, or Isis Sothis riding on a dog, which are doubtless local forms. It seems probable that Isis retained her traditional position in the religion of the native Egyptians, but was not recognised to any large extent by the Hellenised population: in consequence of this her worship was conducted on a restricted scale, though possibly more generally than documentary evidence would suggest, since the worshippers would be drawn partly from the illiterate classes.

31. The remaining member of the Alexandrian triad,

Harpokrates, was, like Isis, of definitely Egyptian origin; but his worship developed on lines different from those of either Isis or Sarapis. He did not, like Sarapis, absorb the functions of other Greek and Egyptian deities under one name and type; nor did he, like Isis, while remaining fundamentally the same everywhere, become localised by distinctive epithets. He was originally a special form of Horus, and gradually took over the cults of other special forms which had prevailed in different



FIG. 110.—Harpokrates as a warrior. (Petrie Collection, University College.)

districts, not only of original variants of Horus, but also of other gods with whom Horus had been equated in virtue of his solar attributes.

Thus terra-cotta figures of Harpokrates seated on a ram refer to his identification with Mendes; ithyphallic figures to that with Min; nome-coins with the type of a crocodile with the head of Harpokrates to that with Sobk; statuettes of him with a goose to that with Ra. The equations were

carried further into Greek mythology; for instance, the warrior-form of Horus, Harshefi, had been identified with Herakles, and thus there arose a compound form Herakles-Harpokrates, known as a coin-type and addressed in dedications: the relationship of Harpokrates and Apollo has been discussed previously.

32. There are in the Roman period no definite instances of the dedication of temples to Harpokrates, and few of his worship in them, except in association

with other deities, especially Isis; but there is ample evidence of his popularity among the inhabitants of the country. His image was almost as favourite a device for seal-rings as that of Sarapis; and the number of terra-cotta statuettes of him that are found in the ruins of the Græco-Roman towns is far greater than of any other god. The last fact shows him to have been pre-eminently the household god of the lower classes; and while in the

temples he was, as his name implied, Horus the child, and so not to be separated from his mother Isis, amongst the people he was an independent and powerful personality.



FIG. III.—Harpokrates: Coin of Trajan. (British Museum.)

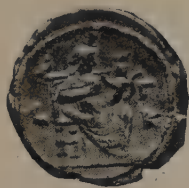


FIG. III2.—Isis nursing Harpokrates: Coin of M. Aurelius. (Ashmolean Museum.)

33. The Alexandrian triad was thus composed of Sarapis, the official supreme god and the central object of worship in the chief temples; Isis, whose priests carried on the old Egyptian religious tradition in a mixture of mysticism and magic; and Harpokrates, the special object of worship of the lower classes as the nearest to man of the three. But foreign elements had been imported in the construction of the triad,



FIG. 113.—Osiris with stars: from Koptos. (Photo, by W. M. F. Petrie.)

more particularly in regard to Sarapis; and in course of time these began to give way before Egyptian influences. For instance, Osiris, who should have been absorbed in Sarapis, reasserted his position: at Abydos, indeed, he always seems to have held his ground, at any rate among the Egyptian-speaking part of the population, and the use of his name in demotic as the equivalent of Sarapis in Greek has been noted above. At the beginning of the imperial period Strabo records Osiris, not Sarapis, as the god of Abydos; and in the

course of the next two centuries the recovery by Osiris of his honours is marked: for instance, the old Egyptian formula of entreaty to Osiris to give water to the dead, which had been preserved in demotic texts, appears in a Greek version also, without any translation of Osiris into Sarapis. In the magical papyri of the second and third centuries also Osiris is a leading actor, while Sarapis is scarcely mentioned. It is in accord with this that at Rome and in the West generally, where information about Egyptian religion was not generally diffused till after the Roman conquest, Osiris rather than Sarapis was normally associated with Isis; though in the Greek world, which had been in contact with Ptolemaic influences, the worship of Sarapis had spread at an earlier date, and continued in vogue.

34. Isis, being even in Ptolemaic theology primarily Egyptian, was not materially changed in position by the recrudescence of native religious ideas; but Harpocrates underwent a process of reversion to type not dissimilar to that of Sarapis, and in the late magical texts it was the simple form of Horus, not the transmuted Alexandrian Harpocrates, who was invoked together with Isis. There must throughout the Græco-Roman period have been a steady adherence to the traditional faiths of the country among the peasantry, which found little record on the monuments or in written documents, but gradually asserted itself again when the official importance of the artificial Alexandrian system of theology declined: the revival of the old beliefs is very similar to the revival of the old Egyptian language, in the form of Coptic, after a period of two or three centuries in which its use, so far as written evidence goes, might seem almost to have ceased.

(e) Roman and other Cults.

35. There is practically no trace of worship of Roman deities in Egypt: if their names occasionally appear in inscriptions, as do those of Jupiter and Juno near the First Cataract, of Jupiter Optimus Maximus at Koptos,

and of Mercurius at Pselkis, the reason is that the

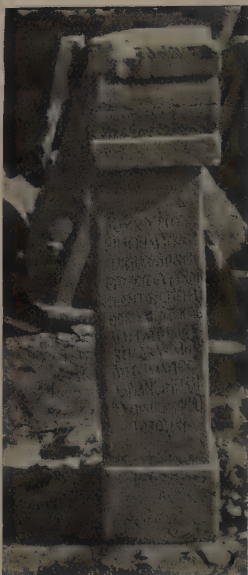


FIG. 114.—Altar of M. Aurelius Belakabos: from Koptos. (Photo. by W. M. F. Petrie.)

inscriptions are written in Latin, and the Latin names are used as the equivalents of the local Egyptian ones, just as Greek would have been if that had been the language of the inscriptions. The votaries in these cases are soldiers, and as a rule the Roman soldiers in Egypt seem to have worshipped the gods of the country, if they needed any worship outside the camp; though stray references to imported cults occur, as for instance in the dedication at Koptos of an altar to Hierablus by a Palmyrene soldier, who was presumably stationed there. But as the majority of these Roman soldiers were natives of the Eastern provinces, and from the second century onwards mainly of Egyptian birth, their preference for the local deities is readily understandable.

36. The only god of Roman origin who is known to have had a temple dedicated to him in Egypt is Jupiter Capitolinus, who was so honoured at Arsinoe. The records which have been preserved of the feasts celebrated at this temple, however, do not suggest that Jupiter was the principal interest of those who frequented it: the commemoration of events connected with the imperial house or with Rome formed much the most important part of the occupation of the priests. And in this respect it may be linked with the temples dedicated to various emperors and empresses which are mentioned as existing at several towns—Alexandria,

Memphis, Arsinoe, Oxyrhynchos, Hermopolis, Elephantine, and Philæ: the dedications known are to Augustus, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Faustina. But there is no clear evidence either at these temples or elsewhere of the worship of the emperors as gods in their lifetime, unless the humouring of the fancies of Caligula in this respect by the Alexandrians, or the adulation pressed on Vespasian by the populace when he first came to Alexandria as emperor, can be regarded as genuine worship. An indirect deification was sometimes effected by the equation of the emperor with a god, notably in the case of Augustus, who was addressed as Zeus Eleutherios: similarly the description of Nero as the good genius of the world may carry a reference to the Agathos Daimon who was worshipped at Alexandria; and a dedication in the reign of Trajan to the new Aphrodite at Tentyra may conceivably refer to the empress Plotina, with which may be compared the representation on Alexandrian coins of empresses with the attributes of goddesses. The statues of emperors which were erected in the temples are not described as sacred images: like the festivals celebrated in the same temples on the imperial anniversaries, they were intended to do honour to the rulers of the country, but not to rank them among the gods; an instance is recorded in which a petition for the redress of grievances addressed to the prefect was laid at the feet of the statues of the reigning emperor and empress in the imperial temple, but this can hardly be made into an act of worship. Dedications were made to the genius of the emperor, which was a formula recognised by Roman usage; and the same phrase was used in making oath after the end of the first century A.D., replacing the earlier customary oath by the emperor.

37. This cult of the genius of the emperor comes into relation at certain points with that of Roma; but, though the goddess Roma occasionally appears as a type on Alexandrian coins, she does not seem to have been worshipped in Egypt, unless the celebration of



FIG. 115.—Alexandria: Coin of Hadrian. (British Museum.)



FIG. 116.—Roma: Coin of Antoninus Pius. (British Museum.)



FIG. 117.—Roma: Coin of Antoninus Pius. (Ashmolean Museum.)



FIG. 118.—Tyche: Coin of Hadrian. (British Museum.)



FIG. 119.—Tyche of Alexandria: Coin of Antoninus Pius. (British Museum.)

the birthday-feast of Rome at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Arsinoe involved her; and the intense jealousy of the Alexandrian "patriotic" party would probably make it inadvisable to bring Roma into prominence. Alexandria, or the Fortune of the City, was a more likely object of worship; but it is not clear whether the Tychaion at Alexandria was a

temple of the local Tyche : the representations on coins do not show any specialisation in the temple-statue, and probably the dedication was simply to Tyche, corresponding to the temple of Nemesis which is recorded at Alexandria : temples of Tyche and Nemesis also existed at Arsinoe.

(f) *Judaism.*

38. The Jews, who, as has already been remarked, stood wholly apart in religious matters from Egyptians, Romans, and Greeks, formed an important section of the community, especially in Alexandria ; but while Jewish synagogues were probably to be found in most large towns of Egypt, and a great temple existed at Leontopolis till its closure under Vespasian after the destruction of Jerusalem, the only development of Jewish ideas which was peculiar to Egypt was found in the sect of the Therapeutai, described by Philo. This sect had formed a settlement near Lake Mareotis, where they led a monastic life devoted wholly to study and meditation. Both men and women were admitted to the community, and each member had a separate cell, where he remained alone for six days out of the week, only meeting his fellows in the synagogue on the Sabbath and at a festival held every fiftieth day. Such a life of seclusion was not unknown in Egypt at an earlier date, as is witnessed by the inmates of the Sarapeion at Memphis in Ptolemaic times, and it has been suggested that the idea was introduced by Buddhist missionaries from India ; but though such missionaries did certainly visit the Ptolemaic court, and the cult of Sarapis was a complex of conceptions from various sources, the fact that the Jews, who were most unlikely to have consciously borrowed any practices from a foreign creed, were found adopting the same eremitic habit, suggests that it was at any rate encouraged by the physical character of the country. In Egypt the desert is always close at hand for those who wish to retire from the world ; and it exercises a peculiar fascination, easier to feel than to

describe, over minds which have risen to a higher religion than mere fetishism, tempting those who enter it to stay and think their lives away. The same monastic tendency was shortly afterwards developed by the Christian Church and spread by it from Egypt throughout Europe.

(g) *Christianity.*

39. The introduction of Christianity into Egypt is reported by the early historians of the Church to have taken place in the reign of Nero, when St. Mark is said to have visited Alexandria. There are no records of the first years of the Alexandrian Church preserved, beyond a list of bishops, who may be to some extent apocryphal; but there is every reason to think that early in the second century the new doctrines were well established at Alexandria, which is said to have produced its first heretic in Basilides in the reign of Hadrian. The first historical figure among the bishops is Demetrius, who was appointed to the see in the last years of Commodus; and during his long period of office, lasting for forty-three years, the growth of the importance of Christianity was marked by the creation of subordinate episcopal sees in the country, first three and later twenty, and by the foundation under Pantænus of the catechetical school for the training of Christian students at Alexandria, which may have been intended as a counterpart of the heathen lecturers at the Museum, and attained a notable position under the successors of Pantænus, Clement and Origen.

40. The first organised attack by the government on the Christians of Egypt took place during the same period, in the tenth year of Severus: it was directed from Alexandria, and martyrs were brought thither for execution from the whole province: this furnishes additional evidence of the general diffusion of the new faith, and is also of interest as differentiating the official persecution on religious grounds from the

racial quarrels at Alexandria between Greeks and Jews in previous years. A fresh attempt to suppress the Christians was made some fifty years later by Decius, which has supplied the earliest contemporary evidence relating to Christianity found in Egypt in the shape of a number of the certificates given to those who had conformed with the requirement of making and partaking in sacrifices to the gods. The persecution was continued in the reign of Valerian; but Gallienus, who had quite enough political difficulties to face in Egypt without complicating them by religious ones, stopped it and granted liberty of religion to the Christians.

41. The earliest Christian letter hitherto found which can be definitely dated belongs to the period of the episcopate of Maximus (264-282); but numerous fragments of Christian texts, both canonical and uncanonical, can be assigned to the third century. The edict of toleration of Gallienus enabled the Christians to build themselves churches; and the erection of the small church of Al-Mu'allakah at Old Cairo may be assigned to a date very shortly after this period. In a papyrus of about 300 A.D. found at Oxyrhynchos reference is made to the north and south churches, and other large towns were doubtless similarly provided with places of Christian worship. But these churches were all ordered to be destroyed, and the Christians to be forced to change their belief, by Diocletian; and for some years the persecution continued.

42. The adherence of Constantine to Christianity, however, reversed the positions of the two parties; and for the next two centuries the Christians were constantly active, except during the brief reign of Julian, in trying to root out the pagans; and they pursued this work as relentlessly as the ministers of the old religion had tried to suppress Christianity. A notorious instance of the ruthlessness of the monks was the murder of Hypatia at Alexandria, at the instigation of the patriarch Cyril; but every bishop and every abbot apparently thought himself at liberty to deal as he liked with

pagans and their property. Thus Macarius the bishop of Tkoou and his companions made a raid on a village and burnt not only a temple and three hundred and six idols, but also the high-priest. The Life of Schenute represents him as similarly engaged in attacking villages near Panopolis, and even Panopolis itself, and burning houses and temples for the glory of God ; so that it is not surprising that the people of Panopolis made complaint concerning him to the governor.

43. It is difficult to say what position the government intended to take up in regard to paganism, the more so as the interpretation of imperial edicts varied according to the local circumstances and the discretion of the local officials. Thus Theodosius directed the closing of all temples in which sacrifices were offered ; but the monks in Egypt took this as an authority to destroy temples, with the countenance of Cynegius the prætorian prefect, who actually co-operated with Theophilus the patriarch in the occupation of the Sarapeion. On the other hand, an official whose interest in the maintenance of public order was greater than his zeal for the Church might try to check the work of destruction, as when a governor of Antinoopolis summoned Schenute before him. That the central government was not unwilling to use the old gods for diplomatic purposes is shown by the treaty of Maximinus with the Nobatæ in the reign of Marcian, one of the conditions of which provided for a yearly loan of the statue of Isis at Philæ to the barbarians.

44. As the old heathen beliefs died out in Egypt, divisions grew up in the Christian Church ; and the political importance of these divisions was very considerable. Egypt was the birthplace of the Arian heresy, which provided the first pretext for a definite breach between the Eastern and the Western provinces of the Roman Empire in the dispute between Constans and Constantius over the banishment of Athanasius by the latter ; and the religious difference thus begun was continued thereafter under various forms in all the quarrels which led to the final severance of Rome

and Constantinople. The results of the Council of Chalkedon in 451 were even more marked in determining the fate of Egypt: the growth of the antagonism between the imperial patriarchate of Alexandria, which represented the official doctrine of Constantinople on the nature of Christ, and the native Jacobite Church, which held to the Monophysite heresy condemned by the Council, has already been traced. The dissensions which arose in consequence of this difference in theological tenets not only led to the union of civil and religious power in the persons of the prefect-patriarchs of Justinian, who furnished a precedent for the temporal authority often attached to the episcopate in the Middle Ages, but undermined the influence of the Roman Empire in Egypt and facilitated the final conquest of the country by the Arabs.

45. The special incidence of these divisions in Egyptian Christianity may be ascribed mainly to the mixture of races in the country. The ruling classes, whether Greek or Roman, had always been sharply marked off from the common people, and had shown at least a nominal preference for their own gods: so long, however, as the gods in question were members of one or another of the old pagan systems, whose accommodating attributes allowed them to be identified at the will of their worshippers, no serious difficulties arose: the Greek and the Egyptian could worship each his own god under a Greek or an Egyptian name in the same temple. There was a tendency, which has been noted already, for the Egyptian element in the popular worship to grow at the expense of the Greek, which was probably encouraged by the decay of the old Greek middle classes as they became impoverished and sank to the intellectual level of the Egyptians; but the upper classes maintained their Hellenism. When, however, the leaders of the Christian Church sought to enforce a cast-iron orthodoxy, set forth in creeds of which each word must be literally believed on pain of everlasting damnation, it was no longer possible to compromise, and the innate differences of the Greek

and the Egyptian mind began to be manifest. The philosophical subtleties of the Alexandrian school were quite beyond the comprehension of the fellah ; and so, in the Arian and Monophysite controversies, the native Egyptian Church on each occasion held to the simpler form of belief.

46. The Christian Church in Egypt, however, was not uninfluenced by the older religions of the country. The Greek schools of philosophical thought at Alexandria contributed much to the development of Christianity on the metaphysical side : the importance of the Platonists in regard to the doctrine of the Logos is well known. And it is not improbable that the conception of the Trinity, which formed no part of the original Jewish Christianity, may be traced to an Egyptian origin : the whole of the older Egyptian theology was permeated with the idea of triple divinity, as may be seen in the triads of gods which the various cities worshipped, and in the threefold names, representing three differing aspects of the same personality, under which a god might be addressed. It was in accord with the line of development followed elsewhere that the Egyptian Christians adopted the artistic types of pagan mythology for the purposes of their own religious representations : thus Isis with her child was transformed with slight modifications into Mary with the infant Christ, and the warrior Horus on horseback attacking a crocodile became a dragon-slaying saint ; but some of the designs used must have needed a subtle imagination to apply a Christian interpretation to them, such as the group of Leda and the swan, which occurs several times in Coptic church decoration.

47. By far the most important contribution of Egypt to the life of the Christian Churches was the habit of monasticism. This practice has already been noticed in connexion with the Jewish sect of the Therapeutai ; and the idea of withdrawing from the world, for meditation in the solitude of the desert, was adopted also by the Christians. The earliest Christian hermits of

whom there is any record lived at the beginning of fourth century A.D., the most famous among them being Antony, who may be regarded as the inaugurator of the solitary life ; but not long afterwards Pachomius saw the advantages of collecting the religious in communities and founded cœnobitic monasteries near Panopolis and Tentyra. The rapidity with which the system spread may be judged from the fact that in the latter part of the same century, in the reign of Valens, the monasteries were not only well established and recognised by law as corporations competent to hold property, but were so popular as to present a serious difficulty to the government on account of the number of their inmates who claimed exemption from military service or liturgies on the ground of monastic vows.

48. The monasteries in the towns frequently occupied the old temples, or any other buildings, such as towers or pylons, which were at hand. Examples of such occupation were seen by Rufinus, about the end of the fourth century, at Oxyrhynchus ; and the manner in which a military building could be adapted for monastic purposes can be traced in the Roman fortress of Babylon. The desert monasteries probably began as collections of separate cells, related only by their neighbourhood ; but the monks found it necessary to provide for their own safety against the raids of the desert tribes, when the government proved incapable, and so the fortress type of monastery was developed. Several large convents, one with as many as three thousand monks, were known to Rufinus : the best extant example of the fortress type is the White Monastery, which was erected about the time of his visit to Egypt, and is connected with the name of the famous Schenute. This building presents outwardly a huge expanse of blank wall, broken only by windows high up, and by two small tunnel-like entrances which could easily be blocked. Such a monastery could stand a long siege against the desert nomads, if sufficiently provisioned ; and the extent of provision kept may be judged from the account in the Life of Schenute of how his monastery

maintained for three months twenty thousand men, as well as women and children, who had been rescued from the Blemyes. The district round had just been



FIG. 120.—The White Monastery: Old nave of church, now the courtyard. (Photo. by J. G. M.)

raided, and it is not probable that any large supplies could have been drawn thence, so that it must be concluded that the eighty-five thousand artabas of

wheat and numerous other articles of food with which the monks supplied their guests must have been in store at the monastery. The military use of these



FIG. 121.—The White Monastery : Walled-in columns of nave.
(Photo. by J. G. M.)

Egyptian monasteries was, however, only a secondary one; but Justinian probably borrowed the idea from them when he built a monastery to guard the passes

under Mount Sinai against attacks from Arabia. In other countries which were not exposed, like Egypt, to sudden raids from the desert, there was not the



FIG. 122.—The White Monastery : South wall. (Photo. by J. G. M.)

same incentive to conventual life ; but it was this system rather than the eremitic which spread throughout Europe and profoundly influenced the Christian Church of the Middle Ages.

(h) *Magic.*

49. The Roman period saw a great development in the belief in magic arts in Egypt ; and this drew its material from many sources in the older religions. Mention has already been made of the importance of Hermes-Thoth in the later magic : his name was given to the whole literature of the art preserved in the Hermetic books, in which he ranked with Isis as the depository of all mystic knowledge ; for instance, a document from Oxyrhynchos, which purports to be a copy of a sacred book found in the archives of Hermes, gives a formula for obtaining an omen based on one

used by Hermes and Isis when searching for Osiris. To the Roman world generally Isis was the chief representative of the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was worshipped with rites which had borrowed much from the Greek mysteries ; but this cult seems to have developed outside Egypt. The magicians, however, were prepared to lay any creed under contribution ; the more names they invoked, the more likely they were to include the right name of power required for a particular end ; and so their spells range to Babylonia in search of gods, and bring in Jehovah and Moses from Judæa, together with much that seems meaningless ; till in the end the Christian element is introduced, and such conjunctions as Aphrodite, Iao Sabaoth, and St. Phocas, or Isis, Horus, and the Lord Jesus are found.

50. It is not, however, of much practical use to attempt a separation of the different strata of thought in the magical formulæ of the period : there are in fact no strata, but a confused deposit of detritus from older formations, in which are embedded, like fossils washed out of their original matrices, names and phrases which have no logical relation to their immediate surroundings. The magical art belongs to a phase which occurs in most religious systems, and there is little difference in the motives which prompt its use in one age or another, though a higher stage of civilisation may bar the crude methods of divination of the savage. The appeal to heaven for an oracle was in essence the same, whether it was addressed to the twice great god Sokanobkonneus, or to the lords Dioskouroi, or to the Almighty God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, to all of whom requests made for guidance as to a journey have been preserved in papyri. Nor is there any difference in principle between a gnostic charm in the name of a mysterious deity Sulikusesos and an amulet composed of quotations from the Gospel according to St. Matthew or an entreaty for healing to God and St. Serenus which mainly consists of the Lord's Prayer.

CHAPTER XI

LIFE IN THE TOWNS AND VILLAGES OF EGYPT

1. THE recent discoveries of papyri have thrown a considerable amount of light on the life of the inhabitants of Egypt during the period of Roman rule, and supplement in a very interesting way the notices preserved in the works of contemporary authors. There is comparatively little evidence as to Alexandria in the papyri, except for a group of texts of the time of Augustus; but this is compensated by the fact that much of the information derived from literary sources deals with the capital. Several of the larger towns of the province, especially Arsinoe, Oxyrhynchos, and Hermopolis, as well as the villages of the Fayûm, have furnished considerable quantities of material ranging over the whole of the period; and smaller collections have been derived from Herakleopolis, Antinoopolis, Panopolis, and Syene, to which may be added isolated groups such as those from Aphrodito, Apollinopolis, and the Great Oasis. The documents from the Thebaid, the great bulk of which are from Thebes itself or Syene, are usually on ostraka, and chiefly concerned with taxation; but some information as to the life of the people can be gathered from these. And a few facts which obtained a more lasting record in inscriptions provide some particulars as to places not otherwise represented in the evidence.

(a) *Buildings and Architecture.*

2. Hardly anything is left of the buildings of ancient Alexandria, and it is questionable whether the plan

of the town can be recovered with any certainty. Strabo mentions a number of the edifices which existed just after the conquest, and it would appear from his description that the most important were round or behind the Great or Eastern harbour: in the middle of the harbour front stood the Emporium and a temple of Poseidon, with the Royal Palaces occupying most of the ground to the east; behind the Emporium was the



FIG. 123.—Alexandria: Ruins, possibly of the Gymnasium. (Ainslie, Views in Egypt.)

Cæsareum, a temple begun by Cleopatra and completed by Augustus, and between this and the Palaces was the Theatre; the Museum and Library probably stood near the Cæsareum, and the Sema, or tomb of Alexander, on the high ground behind; while the Gymnasium lay alongside the great street that ran through the city from east to west. Of none of these are there any certain remains, though the site of the Cæsareum is fixed by the obelisks, known as Cleopatra's

Needles, which originally stood before it and were in position till lately; and of the great temple of Sarapis there are only foundation walls round the column called Pompey's Pillar. Representations on coins may refer to some of the Alexandrian temples; but they are



FIG. 124.—Alexandria: "Cleopatra's Needle" and Roman tower. (*Description de l'Égypte.*)

of a very summary kind, and only show that most of the buildings were of Greek style, the temples of Isis and of the Canopi alone being depicted with an Egyptian pylon, while some other shrines such as those of Harpokrates of Mendes, Hermanubis, Isis the mother, the}Griffin, and the}sacred bark, appear

to have had façades of Egyptian design with a curved pediment and papyrus columns. The best architectural evidence to be got from the coin-types is in respect of



FIG. 125.—Temple of Sarapis:
Coin of M. Aurelius. (British
Museum.)



FIG. 126.—Temple of Her-
manubis: Coin of Antoninus
Pius. (British Museum.)



FIG. 127.—Temple of Nilus:
Coin of Hadrian. (British
Museum.)



FIG. 128.—Temple of Tyche:
Coin of Antoninus Pius.
(British Museum.)

the Pharos, as several of them give what seems a fairly accurate representation of the famous lighthouse which stood at the entrance to the harbour of Alexandria.

3. In all probability the original lines of the "lay-out" of Alexandria, with a regular scheme of streets cutting at right angles according to the principles of Hippodamos, remained substantially unaltered throughout the Greek and Roman periods, notwithstanding the destruction of certain quarters which took place from time to time :

but it is doubtful whether a similar plan could have been adopted by the Greek settlers for the nome-capitals, where the irregular lines of the old Egyptian buildings would offer a serious obstacle to any orderly town-planning scheme. Only at Antinoopolis, where Hadrian had practically a clear field for his new city, is there any definite evidence of the adoption of the rectangular principle: the ruins which were still



FIG. 129.—Karanis: Interior of Temple of Pnepherôs and Petesouchos. (Photo. by J. G. M.)

standing there at the time of the Napoleonic expedition, but have since disappeared, showed very clearly the main lines of the geometric design based on broad colonnaded streets; and the Alexandrian system of numbered quarters of the town prevailed here also. Elsewhere the buildings which were the usual accompaniment of Hellenic ideas, such as gymnasia, baths, theatres, and porticoes, would have to be sandwiched in as opportunity offered among the earlier erections; and even if a clearance could be made for a group of

new public institutions, it would not seriously affect the general plan of the town. But little remains in place of the buildings of the nome-capitals: the houses



FIG. 130.—Karanis: Gateway of Nero in Temple of Pnepherôs and Petesouchos. (Photo. by J. G. M.)

were constructed of unbaked brick, which has generally relapsed into its original condition of mud, and the stone of the temples and other public buildings has



FIG. 131.—Antinoopolis. (Description de l'Égypte.)

been carried off and reused. There are more definite traces in some of the mounds of the Fayûm, where the abandoned houses were sanded up, and the walls are partly preserved; but these are only small villages, with a modest temple of stone and houses of brick, one or two stories high, roofed with reeds and mud laid on palm-logs, and plastered inside. The planning in some of these is not irregular; but this was presumably due to the fact that they were new settlements made on reclaimed land under the Ptolemies. There is a distinct suggestion of haphazard laying out in a letter relating to the building of a house—evidently of considerable size, since it had two dining-halls and a gatehouse—where, after the building was well advanced, inquiries were being made as to the ownership of an open plot in front of the gatehouse.

4. The types of public buildings to be found in a nome-capital of the Roman period can be determined from the references in papyri: a good example is to be found in a list of the watchmen stationed at various points in the city of Oxyrhynchos at some date about 300, which mentions temples of Sarapis, Isis, and Thoeiris, all of which had guards assigned to them: six men were placed in the temple of Sarapis, one in that of Isis, and seven in that of Thoeiris, from which the relative sizes of the temples may be conjectured. There was a Cæsareum, which had no watchman; also a tetrastyle dedicated to Thoeiris. Two churches come in the list, but not as buildings to be guarded: they only appear as giving their names to streets, and are described as the north and the south church respectively. Three watchmen were allotted to the theatre, two to the gymnasium,



FIG. 132.—Roman lamp in form of gateway. (Petrie Collection, University College.)

and one to the Nilometer. Besides these, mention is made of the Capitolium, of three sets of baths, and of four gates. The catalogue is not an exhaustive one of all the public buildings, as several others are known from other sources; but it probably includes the principal ones.

5. In the architecture there is about as much Greek influence traceable as in the planning: in the nome-



FIG. 133.—Latopolis: Capitals of columns. (Photo. by W. M. F. Petrie.)

capitals the public buildings, especially those which were due to Greek ideas, such as the gymnasia or theatres, would be erected in Greek style, the order adopted in the Roman period being always the Corinthian: and for those in Alexandria, and more rarely in the country, imported marble was used. But the

temples of the villages followed the native architectural tradition and were built of the local limestone or of brick with limestone pylons and dressings: some of the great temples of Upper Egypt, such as those of Tentyra, Thebes, Latopolis, and Philæ, where building went on in some cases until the third century, kept to the old fashion in harmony with the surrounding work of earlier times. This was succeeded in the



FIG. 134.—Hermopolis Magna : Temple. (Description de l'Égypte.)

Byzantine period by the Coptic style, which was developed especially for ecclesiastical purposes, and drew some of its inspiration from Greek and Egyptian work, but shows still more affinity with the Hellenistic architecture of Syria. The pure Byzantine decorative members which are found at some inland centres, notably at Herakleopolis (Ahnas), are usually executed in marble and are probably imported work. There is an interesting example of the mixture of Greek and Egyptian architectural forms which led to Coptic art in

the catacomb of Kôm-el-Shugafa at Alexandria, dating from about 100 A.D.



FIG. 135.—Philæ: Temple of Trajan.

(b) *Art.*

6. The same combination of Greek and Egyptian motives is found in the sculpture of the Kôm-el-Shugafa catacomb, where there are portrait statues which follow

the Egyptian canons of pose, but in the treatment of the head show distinctly Greek technique. These statues are of limestone, and can unquestionably be regarded as the work of a local school: the ascription of some of the marble statues found in Alexandria to Alexandrian artists may be more doubtful, especially in regard to imperial portraits, which might have been imported: a letter of the emperor Julian contains a promise to send a statue of himself to Alexandria.



FIG. 136.—Byzantine capital: from Ahnas.
(E.E.F. Report.)

But it may be assumed that the school of sculpture which had flourished at Alexandria under the Greek kings was not extinguished by the Roman conquest; and some portraits, such as the realistic head of a priest from Kôm-el-Shugafa and a reclining figure of an old man, show that until the second century at least the sculptors of Alexandria were still able to do vigorous and attractive work in marble. There can be little doubt that these are of local execution, and they show a close similarity in style to some of the plaster busts from the Alexandrian necropolis, which are

probably of the second century; these, the best of which are of considerable merit, are purely Greek in conception with no trace of Egyptian influence. The Alexandria Museum also has a very effective portrait head in marble, probably of second century date, from Kôm-el-Khanziri in the Delta.

7. The provincial schools of sculpture, if they may be called schools, naturally show less Greek and more

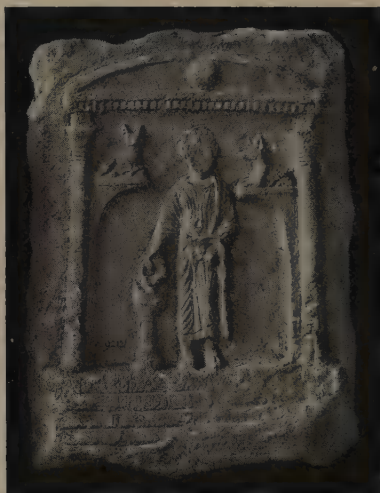


FIG. 137.—Man standing making libation between jackals on standards: from Sais. (Cairo Museum.)

Egyptian affinities than the artists of Alexandria; and the Egyptian element increases with the distance from Alexandria. Thus among the reliefs on grave-stelæ, several of the cemeteries of the Delta have furnished examples of types which are in essence Greek with Egyptian adjuncts: a favourite scheme is the "banquet-scene," with the deceased person reclining on a couch, treated generally in accordance with Greek models, but

usually accompanied by the jackal of Anubis, which often lies on a pillar derived from the old Egyptian standard: elsewhere appear full-face figures standing with arms upraised as in Egyptian ceremonial, or pouring a libation on an altar of Egyptian form. These stelæ probably begin in the second century and continue through the third; and the later ones show less of the Greek spirit and more return to Egyptian conventions.

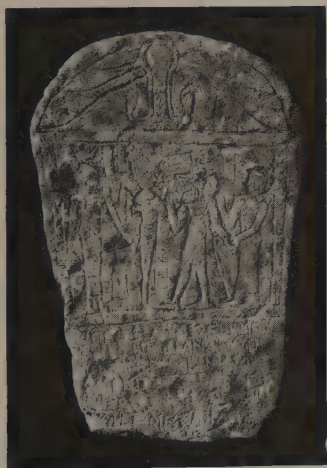


FIG. 138.—Presentation of dead man to Osiris by Anubis: from Saqqara. (Cairo Museum.)

Outside the Delta, however, stelæ of these types seem to be unknown, and the memorial stones over graves are of the old Egyptian type with the scene of the presentation of the dead to Osiris: a specimen of this class from Saqqara may be thought to show some softening in treatment as the effect of Greek influence, but the numerous examples from Abydos are purely and stiffly Egyptian.

8. A group of statues and statuettes from the temple of Soknopaios at Dimeh in the Fayûm provides some more definite evidence of a local school of artists working under the inspiration of Greek traditions: they are mainly executed in black granite or basalt, and may be dated to about the time of Augustus. The drapery of the statues is stiff and Egyptian in treatment, but the heads in several instances show a vigorous and not unsuccessful attempt at rendering a naturalistic portrait.



FIG. 139.—Colossal head of Caracalla: from Koptos. (Photo. by W. M. F. Petrie)

The frequent references in papyri to the erection of statues, especially of the emperors, suggest that there must have been a good deal of work for sculptors even in the provincial towns: a list of temple-property drawn up in the reign of Caracalla for a group of associated temples in the Oxyrhynchite and Kynopolite nomes shows that each of the temples, whether in a town or a village, had a figure of the emperor and his father and mother: several examples of statues of Caracalla have been found in Egypt, of poor and obviously local ex-

ecution, and no doubt most of the temple statues were similar. A rather earlier group, however, on a relief in the Cairo Museum, which represents Antoninus Pius and his family, is of more meritorious workmanship; but this, which is in marble, may have been sculptured at Alexandria, as a papyrus of approximately the same date contains receipts from an Alexandrian for statues and bronze equestrian figures supplied to Hermopolis, which were presumably the output of Alexandrian workshops.

9. A few reliefs in limestone in the Cairo Museum, which all probably come from the Thebaid and may be dated in the third century, belong to the transition from Græco-Egyptian to Coptic art. The figures are uniformly represented full face, and in this respect the treatment is in accordance with the development of the later grave-stelæ from the Delta: the drapery is uniformly stiff, and the execution generally crude:

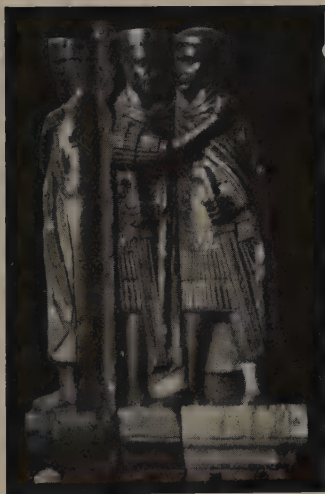


FIG. 140.—Statues of four emperors: St. Mark's, Venice.

only one example, a colossal relief with a pantheistic deity, who has been identified as Antaios, and his consort, displays any technical skill, and even this is purely mechanical. The capabilities of the sculptors of Egypt are much better shown in a few porphyry statues of emperors which belong to the time of Diocletian and Constantine and introduce the Byzantine period: there is a headless seated figure from Alexandria in the Cairo Museum which is worked with notable mastery

of the stubborn material, and may be compared with the four figures built into the south-west corner of St. Mark's at Venice, which are doubtless of Egyptian origin: the same treatment of the head is found in a bust from Athribis at Cairo: in all cases the execution is rather dry, but there is, besides a conscientious rendering of detail, some vigour of expression which is reminiscent of Greek traditions.

10. The Coptic workers in stone concerned them-



FIG. 141.—Byzantine sculptures: from Ahnas. (E.E.F.₂ Report.)

selves little with free sculpture, and only used the human figure as a decorative element in architectural work such as pedimental reliefs or friezes. The execution is almost invariably crude, showing no comprehension of anatomy or feeling for form: the most remarkable point is the persistence of pagan subjects in the adornment of ecclesiastical buildings, which has already been noticed, and which lasted into the fourth century and even later. The chief merit of Coptic



FIG. 142.—Coptic tombstones : Cairo Museum.
(Photo. by W. M. F. Petrie.)



FIG. 143.—Coptic tombstones : Cairo Museum.
(Photo. by W. M. F. Petrie.)

stonework is in its treatment of floral and geometric motives.

11. Metal work of all kinds was produced in many centres in Egypt: but there is no evidence to show how far the artisans in the country, such as the guild of coppersmiths of Oxyrhynchos, whose declaration as to the value of the goods which they had in stock has been preserved, or the men who leased the goldsmithing industry of Euhemereia, were engaged in anything more than the production of common utensils, or were capable of artistic design. The inventories of temple property mention articles of gold, silver, and bronze, many of which are specifically described as decorated with representations of gods or the like; but nothing has been preserved in Egypt itself of artistic work in the precious metals of Roman date, and most of the bronze objects which have been found are of mediocre style such as might have been produced in the country towns. Some bronze reliefs, perhaps of the fourth century, used for the decoration of wooden caskets, which were found at Panopolis, show the characteristic persistence of pagan and classical motives in a Coptic setting which has been noted in regard to sculpture. Probably much of the finest metal-work of Alexandria was made for export: the silver plate found at Hildesheim, now in the Berlin Museum, may be taken as an example of this.

12. Still more characteristically Alexandrian, however, was the work in ivory and bone, of which more has fortunately survived: the majority of the carvings in bone found at Alexandria, which probably were used for the decoration of furniture or caskets, are of summary and rough style, but several show considerable delicacy of execution, and a few, such as a figure of Nike carrying a wreath in which is placed a bust, are distinctly good work of Greek tradition. To this Alexandrian school may be traced back a number of ivory or bone plaques carved in relief which have been preserved in various parts of Europe, sometimes still attached to the articles which they were used to

decorate: the most famous example is the episcopal throne of Maximian at Ravenna. The plaques were sometimes lightly engraved and coloured with a thick varnish which produces the effect of an inlay: a fine specimen of this style of work is a bridal casket from Saqqara of the third or fourth century at Cairo.

13. The technique of these coloured plaques has some affinity with that of painting, the history of which in Roman Egypt is fairly well illustrated. Most of the remains of mural decoration which have been found seem to belong to the Ptolemaic period; but there are good wall-paintings in the catacomb of Kôm-el-Shugafa at Alexandria and in vaults at Panopolis, dated in the first or second century; and this art was revived in Coptic times for the adornment of monasteries and churches. But the portraits from coffins, which appear to begin in the middle of the first century and go down to the middle of the third, are of more artistic value: they mainly come from the cemeteries of the Fayûm, but have been found elsewhere in Middle Egypt as far south as Antinoopolis and Panopolis: they are executed in wax on a backing of wood, and the better specimens give the impression of being faithful and characteristic likenesses. They certainly belong to Greek rather than to Egyptian tradition.



FIG. 144.—Mummy portrait: from Hawara.

14. An alternative method of reproducing the features of a deceased person on the coffin which prevailed about the same time as, and over a wider area than, the painted heads was by making a mask or bust of plaster: and many of these also are done with considerable technical skill and seem to be genuine portraits. These masks may be linked with the terra-cotta statuettes, of which enormous quantities have



FIG. 145.—Terra-cotta figurines. (Petrie Collection, University College.)

been found on Græco-Roman sites in Egypt: but the latter, at any rate in the Roman period, are usually of crude technique and commonplace design: for the most part they are reproductions, made with the aid of moulds, of figures of gods or caricatures of a *genre* class, and possess little artistic merit; they represent presumably the kind of work which could be turned out cheaply for the benefit of the poorer classes, to be used for dedications in the temples or for the decoration of their houses.

15. In the other minor arts not much distinctive work has been preserved from the workshops of Roman

Egypt. Some interesting mosaics have been found at Alexandria and in the Delta, notably one from Thmuis which gives a scene of family life on the banks of the Nile; but mosaic is not a method of decoration which is natural or suitable to ordinary Egyptian conditions. The miniature mosaic-work in glass, formed by rods of different colours built into a pattern and fused and then cut in cross-sections, is on the other hand very characteristic of the Roman period in Egypt; and glass-work generally was one of the leading industries of Alexandria: the bulk of the output, however, was of blown glassware of plain design. There must have



FIG. 146.—Miniature altar.
(Petrie Collection, University College.)



FIG. 147.—Roman lamps and handles. (Petrie Collection, University College.)

been a large demand for engraving of seals, but the examples which have been preserved, whether

impressions or actual stones or rings, do not give a high idea of the skill of the workmen: they would, however, be executed locally, as seals are now in



FIG. 148.—Designs from fragments of Coptic pottery. (Petrie Collection, University College.)

Egypt, and the finds being mainly from provincial centres probably represent provincial work: at the same time the Alexandrian coins, for which it might



FIG. 149.—Coptic painted pottery. (Petrie Collection, University College.)

be expected that the mint-officials would employ good die-engravers, show only moderate artistic quality, except at occasional periods of revival, and there is some reason to think that these revivals may have been due to the importation of artists from elsewhere. In pottery, as in glass, most of the products of the Roman period were plain ware, though some good

vases with moulded decoration exist: in Coptic times there was a revival of the art of vase-painting, and, together with a good deal of monochrome geometric decoration, a few interesting examples of figure-subjects have been preserved.

(c) *Culture.*

16. Of the educational apparatus of Roman Egypt characteristic specimens have been found on ostraka, wooden tablets, and papyri, which illustrate the gradual stages of elementary instruction, through the alphabet and the combination of letters into syllables, to the writing out of passages from dictation or the composition of essays on a theme: collections of grammatical rules for conjugation and declension and syntactical classifications for the guidance of students are also represented among the relics. Mathematical exercises are rarer, but occasionally occur. The main textbook for literary purposes was Homer, whose works were used at all stages of instruction: lines of Homer were set as copies for practice in handwriting or made the basis of a lesson on morals: epitomes of the narratives of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, paraphrases of passages, and commentaries are frequently found. For moral education large drafts were also made on the gnostic poets, whose sentences furnished apt material for this purpose. In later centuries the Coptic schoolmasters seem to have replaced Homer by the Bible for the various uses mentioned. The elementary schools, which were probably of the ordinary Greek type of day-school, to which the pupils were taken by the paidagogoi, may be assumed to have existed in the larger towns, where there would be a sufficient population of the upper Hellenised stratum to support them: the lower classes, Egyptians and poor Greeks, as a rule were uneducated, as is shown by the frequency with which such people are described in documents as illiterate. The second stage in the education of the Greek boy, as an ephebe, was certainly

strictly limited to a privileged group in each of the nome capitals: admission to the ranks of the ephebes, which carried with it the rights of the gymnasium, was only granted on the submission of full evidence of free birth and parentage likewise of the ephebic class. There are no details preserved as to the instruction given to the ephebes in the gymnasia, which were under the control of gymnasiarchs and kosmetai; but the announcement of an assault-at-arms to be performed by the ephebes of Oxyrhynchos, and the foundation of prizes for their annual competitions at the same town, suggest that the chief emphasis was laid on the physical side.

17. No definite evidence of private teaching in the ordinary subjects of elementary education exists; but individual training was sometimes given in technical subjects: an Oxyrhynchite sent his slave to a shorthand-writer to learn the art, the stated period of instruction being two years; the teacher was to receive his pay in three instalments, the second and third being due only when the pupil had reached a definite degree of proficiency. A similar arrangement for special tuition in flute-playing is also found.

18. The higher education of University grade was probably concentrated at Alexandria, though records of the members of the Museum are found in various parts of Egypt: the Museum, however, was an institution for research rather than for teaching, and it was probably optional to the philosophers, philologers, and others who enjoyed the dinner in hall and the privileges attached to lecture or not as they pleased: on one occasion a fellow of the Museum is found acting as strategos in the Arsinoite nome, which would certainly be incompatible with the performance of regular teaching work at Alexandria during the three years of the strategia. The foundation, by the Christian teachers of the second century, of the catechetical school at Alexandria, which was almost certainly intended as a rival to the pagan teachers connected with the Museum, may be assumed to have aimed at

providing a similar range of studies ; and conversely such well-known leaders of this school as Clement and Origen presumably had their counterparts among the lecturers on the other side. In the later period of the history of the pagan philosophical schools of Alexandria, the situation was different : the Museum had ceased to exist in the third century, and the imperial subventions and endowments were no longer available for the maintenance of research : the philosophers would have to teach for their living, the more so as a continuous propaganda would be the only way of keeping their schools in existence against the assaults of Christianity.

19. During the whole of the existence of the Museum, it was closely connected with the great libraries of Alexandria. The original Ptolemaic collection of books probably perished during the Alexandrian war when Julius Cæsar was besieged in the city ; but the daughter-library at the Sarapeion remained as a centre for study until the wrecking of the temple in the reign of Theodosius, and there was apparently another library at the Cæsareum, which may have disappeared earlier, as the temple was converted into a church by Constantine and sacked in some rioting in 366. After the fourth century, there is no evidence of any library at Alexandria ; and it is improbable that either the civil or the ecclesiastical authorities there would have troubled to maintain one. Nor are libraries mentioned at any period among the public buildings of the provincial towns : the literary papyri which have been found at several places, and in some instances from the circumstances of their discovery can certainly be said to be the remains of collections of books, probably represent private rather than public libraries.

20. The contribution of the Alexandrian schools of the Roman period to the permanent literature of the world was not a great one, despite the facilities for research at the Museum and the libraries. The only Egyptian names of special mark, except in the domain of philosophic thought, are those of Diophantus in mathematics, Ptolemy in geography, and Nonnus in

epic; and the two last came from Upper Egypt, not from Alexandria. The neo-Platonic philosophy of Plotinus and his circle was, however, distinctively Alexandrian; and the work of Clement and Origen in the development of Christian theology is also to be counted to the credit of Egypt. But the influence of the schools was widespread and lasting: every one in the country who had any pretensions to education was soaked in Homer, and in the middle of the third century a farm-steward in the Fayûm is found writing an ironical quotation from Homer in the margin of a letter to remind a correspondent, who was dilatory in making due payment, that "Zeus did not sleep, though gods and warriors slept." As late as the sixth century a scribe of the Thebaid, Dioskoros of Aphrodito, wrote verses of singular badness full of classical reminiscences, and thought it fitting to introduce an iambic tag into a petition composed for some villagers, poor and hard-working men, according to their own statement, who were oppressed by certain soldiers. There are many traces in such documents as the so-called Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs and the edicts of the prefects of the rhetorical training of the official classes at Alexandria; and the tradition persisted in the Christian Church so long as the preachers and writers used Greek as their language, no less than among the Byzantine chancery-scribes. A papyrus from Her-mopolis records an instance of mistaken bibliophily on the part of a nun, who was reported to have annexed books from a property which was in dispute between the heirs and had been referred to the bishop for judgment.

21. This survey of the spread of Hellenic culture in Egypt leaves out of account the native Egyptians of the lower classes, who probably were entirely illiterate, and also those who, like the priests of the old Egyptian cults, might be supposed to be the inheritors of the traditional wisdom of the Egyptians. It is doubtful whether this so-called wisdom, which seems to have been accepted as being a genuine system of philosophy

by Roman writers and Church Fathers, really amounted to anything more than a body of doctrines which were regarded as mysterious and profound because they were unintelligible to those who did not understand the Egyptian language, and possibly also to those who did: in the second century candidates for the Egyptian priesthood were required to prove their knowledge of the hieratic writing, and hieroglyphic inscriptions were carved on the walls of the temples in the middle of the third, while demotic was still written two hundred years later; but there is no evidence that the priests and others who used the old language and the old script possessed any higher learning derived from their ancestors. The language was revived in Coptic, which borrowed the greater part of its alphabet from the Greeks; but the poverty of the Coptic vocabulary and the utter lack not only of literary style but of intelligent argument in Coptic writings show that those who used this language had learnt nothing of Greek culture.

(d) Trade and Industries.

22. The main occupation of Egypt was, and always has been, agriculture; and the foremost place among the crops grown was taken by wheat, to which barley ranked second, though far behind: various other species of grain and pulse were cultivated, as well as oil-producing plants. Gardens, vineyards, and orchards are frequently mentioned, with the last of which may be grouped olive-yards and palm-groves: the orchard trees included the fig, the peach, and the mulberry. A considerable amount of land was used as pasture, which was mainly sown pasture, as in modern times. The proportionate areas devoted to these various crops may have corresponded approximately with those of the present day, when half of the land under cultivation is employed in the growing of cereals. Cotton, rice, and sugar-cane have been introduced, and this has probably resulted in a diminution of the amount of corn produced; maize has taken a place among the

cereals ; and the cultivation of the vine and olive has dwindled : but, with these exceptions, the main crops now raised in Egypt are much the same as those mentioned in the papyri.

23. Many of the documents preserved deal with farm-work, and give a considerable amount of information as to agricultural processes in the country : one long papyrus from Hermopolis provides a general view of the occupation of the labourers on an Egyptian farm for more than half the year, including the busiest months. It appears from this that in Thoth (August–September) the main work consisted in attending to the dykes, as the flood was then high ; also men were employed in the artificial irrigation of lands not reached by the water, in carting manure, and in weeding. In the next month, Phaophi (September–October), the dykes still required attention, but less as the river subsided ; artificial irrigation was still carried on, and the breaking-up of the ground begun. Then comes a break in the papyrus : at the end of Hathyr (November) the crops were sown, and the land had to be manured and watered. Another break occurs : in Tybi (December–January) the growing crops only required watering and manuring, and hands were turned to vine-dressing and palm-cutting. After another break in the record, in Pharmouthi and Pachon (March–May) all were busy harvesting and thrashing the corn. Another papyrus, from Memphis, gives particulars of the work done in Mesore (July–August) : in this month a large body of men was required to watch and repair the dykes ; others were employed in clearing up after the thrashing of the harvest, and carrying away the chaff from the thrashing-floor to be used as fuel ; while spare hands were put to the repair of farm-implements. A very full list of operations in vine-growing can be obtained from two Oxyrhynchos papyri dealing with vineyards where the plants were trained on reed-supports : in the winter reeds were gathered and arranged, the vines were pruned and new stocks planted, the ground was cleaned, dug, and hoed ; in the spring and summer

followed digging, training, thinning, watering, and weeding; then, when the grapes had been gathered and pressed, the jars had to be placed in the open, oiled, and moved about, and the wine strained from one jar to another.

24. The wages of Egyptian agricultural labourers show a progressive rise in nominal amount during the Roman period which was doubtless due to the depreciation in the value of money, as the prices of all articles varied similarly, and in particular the price of corn: there is a very close correspondence between agricultural wages and the price of corn, which makes it probable that the latter governed the former. Thus in 78 A.D. labourers at Hermopolis received from three to five obols a day, the lower rate being paid to boys, while the price of corn is given in the same document as ten or eleven drachmas an artaba: in 105 men in the Fayûm got six obols a day, and boys four, three, or two. But in 301 the edict of Diocletian fixed the day wage of the rural labourer at one hundred drachmas, and the price of corn at about one thousand drachmas an artaba; and a few years later, in 314, a Hermopolite papyrus quotes rates of wages of four hundred to six hundred and fifty drachmas, and prices of ten thousand drachmas an artaba for corn. These figures suggest that the normal wage of the labourer was based on an allowance of two to three artabas a month; and these rates of allowance are actually found in a papyrus of 338 dealing with wages paid in kind, with somewhat higher rates for a few special men. As wages and prices would naturally vary in different districts and at different seasons, it is unsafe to generalise any further on the evidence so far available.

25. The manufactures of Egypt employed large numbers of hands. The "letter of Hadrian to Servianus," probably written in the third century, says that in Alexandria "no one is idle; some work glass, others make papyrus, others weave linen." These three classes of articles furnished the bulk of the Egyptian export trade, if the supply of corn to Rome, which went rather

by way of tribute than of trade, is left out of consideration: Aurelian, indeed, included them with corn in the contributions to be sent by Egypt to the capital. Glass and papyrus were manufactured chiefly at Alexandria; but the weaving of linen cloth was an industry practised in all parts of the country; and no occupation, except that of husbandman, is as commonly mentioned in the papyri as that of weaver. To this day excellent weaving is done in small villages, which are often renowned for special fabrics. The other trades pursued in the country do not call for special notice; they seem to have been organised mainly for the supply of the ordinary local needs.

26. The organisation, however, is interesting on account of the peculiar nature of the control exercised by the government over the workers. It has been mentioned in a previous chapter that the monopoly-system of the Ptolemaic kings seems to have been abandoned by the Romans in favour of the issue of licences for the pursuit of trades, in connexion with which the number of those who were allowed to follow each trade was probably regulated for each district. The consequence of the limitation of numbers was naturally that those admitted to a trade had to furnish security that they would pursue it: thus, on the one hand, for instance, there is found an application to the scribe of the city of Oxyrhynchos stating the writer's wish to take up the calling of a river-worker; on the other, a set of documents from Antinoopolis guarantee that certain individuals will pursue specified trades in that city for a year. The latter refer to butchers of various types, and most of the undertakings of this kind are connected with the supply of food-stuffs: an egg-seller of Oxyrhynchos takes an oath to offer eggs for sale in the market-place daily, and not to sell secretly; from the same place comes a contract to sell fine oil daily; owners of pigs in the Delta make declarations that they will bring specified numbers of pigs to certain markets; whence it might be supposed that the guarantee was obtained in the

interests of the provisioning of the towns. But the undertakings are usually addressed to the strategos, or, in the fourth century, his successor the logistes, and these officials were more concerned with taxation than with food-supplies; moreover, the Delta pig-owners make their declarations to their local strategos, not to anyone at the place where they promise to sell their pigs; so that it seems more probable that the control was for the protection of the revenue.

27. A further check by the government on the pursuit of trades is to be seen at the beginning of the fourth century in the declarations made by bodies of traders at Oxyrhynchos as to the value of goods in stock each month, addressed to the logistes. These are from the coppersmiths, bakers, beer-sellers, oil-sellers, and beekeepers; and herein it appears that the same measure of control was exercised over food-purveyors and over artisans. It is, however, by no means clear how far these bodies were organised as guilds or corporations: in the fourth century they had a monthly president, who acted on behalf of his members, and in one instance received the payment for material supplied to the city authorities by his body; and the regulation of the number of licences issued for each trade by the State would naturally lead to the licensees grouping themselves: but there is no evidence that they possessed any legal corporate status, nor that they exercised any control over the pursuit of their trade such as, for instance, the imposition of an apprenticeship qualification or the regulation of rates of wages. Judged by the Oxyrhynchos declarations, their operations were on a small scale: the town was a large and important one, but at the end of the month for which the returns were made the coppersmiths had in stock only ten pounds of bronze, the bakers twenty-four artabas of corn, and the beer-sellers thirteen artabas of barley. As for apprenticeship, several contracts are preserved, for the most part dealing with instruction in weaving, none of which mentions any interest of a guild or union of workers in the trade,

though the government licence-fee and levy on apprenticeship are specified in the terms ; and the period of apprenticeship varies, being from one year to five in the case of weavers, as also do the wages payable to the apprentice ; from which it seems clear that no regulation of apprenticeship was attempted, and that the contracts are simply arrangements for technical instruction made to suit the circumstances of the case.

28. Regulations by the government did not, however, go so far as to control prices, at any rate till the attempt made by Diocletian ; and an interesting picture is suggested by a letter from a man who had been commissioned to make purchases in the bazaar at Koptos for his employer : the articles were partly local work, the most important being armour, partly foreign goods : the writer describes how he beat down the maker's prices, in the presence of many distinguished friends ; and he adds that prices at Koptos vary from day to day. And seemingly an artisan was not confined rigorously to his own district : a papyrus from Oxyrhynchos contains an undertaking by a man, who was presumably registered at that city, to work for a prescribed time as a builder on the erection of a bath at Alexandria.

29. Some of the main steps in the development of the Egyptian external trade have been described in preceding chapters, more particularly in regard to the struggle of the Roman merchants to capture and retain the trade with India and the Far East and the measures necessary for keeping open the route along the Nile into Central Africa. The imports along these lines of traffic were mainly of the luxury class—perfumes, silks, and precious stones from India, perfumes and ivory from Africa ; and they were largely re-exported to Rome, Alexandria serving as a shipping and distributing centre, while the preparation of the goods for the Western market may also have taken place there to some extent. The period during which the Red Sea trade was predominantly under Roman control was

comparatively short: though Roman merchants still journeyed to the Far East in the sixth century, it was under the protection of Arab or Æthiopian rulers that they left Egyptian waters. But the goods reached Alexandria by one route or another, even if they had to pay heavier tolls on the way.

30. The internal trade of the country took advantage of the natural means of communication by water along the Nile, which carried most of the heavy traffic: where this or a side-canal was not available, donkeys and camels were used for the transport of goods, and the receipts for tolls paid on their account give abundant evidence of the importance of the part they took. There was little wheeled carriage: the Koptos tariff refers to vehicles, which were probably mainly employed for the conveyance of passengers along the desert road to the Red Sea, and would be drawn by donkeys: the horse, which is fairly frequently mentioned in Ptolemaic documents, almost disappears in the earlier Roman period except in a purely military connexion, and, though it recurs in Byzantine times, its chief importance was on the race-course; the government postal service, which sometimes used horses, was more commonly carried on by the aid of donkeys.

31. For the greater part of the period of Roman rule Egypt held an exceptional position in regard to its currency. During the first three centuries neither silver nor bronze of the ordinary imperial mintage circulated there, the needs of the country being supplied by special coinage struck at Alexandria. No other province stood apart in this way: in the West the issues of Roman types soon formed the sole medium of exchange, and in the Eastern provinces, though bronze was struck locally in diminishing quantities till late in the third century, and a few mints such as Cæsarea and Antioch had regular series of silver, the Roman silver and bronze were always current. Till the reforms of Diocletian, practically the only Roman coins found in Egypt are gold: if silver denarii drifted in, they were melted down. The Alexandrian cur-

rency of this period was based on the tetradrachm of debased silver, which was equated with the denarius for purposes of exchange: first struck by Tiberius, it continued to be issued almost every year till 296. A bronze coinage of somewhat irregular sizes, beginning with copies of Ptolemaic types, appeared under Augustus; and this continued in an experimental stage till the reign of Vespasian, when large issues of bronze drachmas modelled on the Roman sestertius, their equivalent in value, started; and these, with smaller denominations, were struck regularly for over a century. After Aurelius the bronze coinage became spasmodic, and the tetradrachm began to depreciate: as bronze disappeared, its place for lower values was taken by local leaden tokens. The depreciation went on with increasing rapidity in the second half of the third century, till the tetradrachm was little more than half the weight of the issues of Tiberius, and instead of consisting of about one part of silver to three of alloy had the merest traces of silver in its composition.

32. The reform of Diocletian abolished the special Egyptian currency, which rapidly disappeared from circulation, and the Alexandrian mint began to strike bronze, and occasionally gold, of the same types as the other imperial mints. This led to the unit of account being changed from the drachma to the denarius, which took about fifty years to obtain complete acceptance; but during this period the collapse in monetary values was proceeding more rapidly than ever, and before the statement of accounts in drachmas had ceased, prices had begun to be quoted in myriads of denarii: no lower unit than this would have been of any use, in view of the nature of these prices: for instance, at Oxyrhynchos in 362 the value of a hide was seven hundred and fifty myriads of denarii. The depreciation of the coinage may be measured by the fact that the bronze pieces of the third century, which were issued as denarii, with later bronze pieces which were their lineal successors, by the middle of the fifth century were simply used as counters, each apparently

representing a myriad—ten thousand denarii; and the gold solidus, which under the tariff of Diocletian was worth about seven hundred denarii, is equated in a late fourth century letter with two thousand and twenty myriads and in accounts of 557 A.D. with nearly five thousand two hundred. The natural result of this was that metal currency almost disappeared for a time: there is no trace of any coins having been struck at the imperial mint in Egypt after the first decade of the fifth century, nor of any having been imported from outside, except a few gold solidi, till the commencement of the sixth century; and most transactions must have been carried on by barter.

33. There was, however, an attempt to standardise values on a gold basis, the unit for this purpose being the solidus, or nomisma, as it was commonly termed in Egypt: this was reckoned as twenty-four carats, and fractions of the nomisma were stated either as a nomisma less so many carats, or in carats, the reckonings going down to one-twenty-fourth of a carat. As the smallest gold coin in circulation was one-third of a solidus, it is clear that these fractional sums were merely expressed on a gold basis for purposes of account. The use of the gold standard continued till the end of the Roman dominion; but in the sixth century a bronze currency was reintroduced, first by the use of the reformed imperial bronze coinage of Anastasius, specimens of which struck at mints outside Egypt are commonly found in the country, and then by the reopening of the Alexandrian mint under Justinian for the issue of a special coinage for Egypt, the normal type of which is a small bronze piece marked 12, and possibly representing twelve nummia, or approximately one-twenty-fourth of a carat, which, as stated above, was the lowest fraction of reckoning on the gold basis: these were issued regularly till the Arab conquest.

34. The difficulties in regard to currency were probably not much relieved by the numerous banks which are mentioned in the papyri: they were, in the Roman period, seemingly for the most part private banks

known by the names of their owners, and may have been little more elaborate undertakings than the ordinary Eastern money-changer's of the present day. There are fragments of documents which show that some of the banks kept regular books with separate accounts for their customers, and there are also orders to bankers for payment which represent the beginnings of a cheque-system; but there does not seem to be any evidence that these orders were regarded as negotiable instruments.

(e) *Recreations.*

35. There is a fair amount of scattered evidence as to the amusements and festivals of the people of Egypt during this period. Comparatively little comes from Alexandria, where, however, there are some traces of the existence of a gladiatorial school: a man at some unknown place undertook the liturgy of providing clothes for this, and there are notes scribbled in Latin in the margin of a papyrus containing letters of a military official which refer to it: it is likely that it was the only institution of the kind in Egypt. The theatre of Alexandria is only known from references in ancient writers: a casual mention in a speech against the prefect Vibius Maximus shows that those attending it were expected to wear white garments. Probably most of the large towns possessed theatres: the sites of those of Oxyrhynchos and Antinoopolis are known, but practically all remains of the buildings have disappeared. The nature of the theatrical performances at Oxyrhynchos may be inferred from a fragmentary account which relates to the expenses of festivals, in which the chief items are four hundred and ninety-six drachmas for a mimus and four hundred and forty-eight for a Homerist, while a dancer got less than two hundred: the mimus and Homerist appear again in a later document, probably also referring to Oxyrhynchos, as engaged by the city authorities for a festival. From the same place come specimens of the texts used by the performers—a broad farce introducing several actors,

in which the heroine is rescued from captivity in India by her brother, and two monologues, which would be spoken by a *mimus*; while the Homerist would be required to compose and deliver poems in what passed for Homeric style and of a panegyric nature, such as the encomium on a gymnasiarch for the gifts he had made to the city.

36. Amusements of this class, however, were not confined to the cities: the authorities of the villages seem to have realised the importance of providing some recreation for the inhabitants, and several contracts are extant showing the measures they took for this purpose: thus two *pantomimi* of Hermopolis were engaged by a village in the nome, with all their orchestra of music, for a festival of five days; an engagement for a similar period was made with the chief of a company of flute-players and musicians by an Oxyrhynchite village for the services of his company: the Fayûm villages seem to have preferred dancers, two of whom were hired from an *impresario* for ten days by the village council of Bacchias and four for seven days by the head-man of Philadelphia, while Soknopaïou Nesos secured an *impresario* himself with three gymnasts and four girls for six days. The contracts usually provided for the maintenance and transport of the performers in addition to their pay.

37. On the other hand, athletic contests and exercises seem only to have been pursued in the large towns, where there was a substantial amount of Hellenised population educated in the traditions of the gymnasium: the gymnasts mentioned as engaged by Soknopaïou Nesos were possibly tumblers or contortionists, and there is no trace of any competitions in the villages. The most important athletic festival, outside Alexandria, was at Antinoöpolis, where youths were specially selected to take part in the games in honour of Antinous: it is noteworthy that a boxer, who had been granted maintenance by the city in recognition of two victories, sold the privilege to another man for his two sons. The games at Antinoöpolis seem to have been regarded

as a model by neighbouring cities, if the restoration of the name in a document relating to an endowment for the maintenance of similar contests at Oxyrhynchos is correct. This endowment was given about the year 200; but the festival-accounts already mentioned, which are of somewhat earlier date, contain payments to athletes, including a pankratiast and a boxer; and the sports continued at least till 323, when the logistes issued a notice of a gymnastic display by the youths of the city, who were to give two public performances. It may be assumed that these meetings in the provincial centres were mainly events of local interest only: Egypt did not establish œcumenical games of the class which provided glory and rewards for the professional athletes of the Roman empire, though a diploma of membership of the Athletic Union which has been preserved shows that an Egyptian might find a successful career among them.

38. In the Byzantine period the gymnasium at Oxyrhynchos was supplanted in popular favour by the race-course, as it seems to have been at Alexandria and doubtless in other important towns of Egypt. The race-course at Oxyrhynchos in the seventh century, like most other things there, apparently belonged to the house of Apion, as a man, in a document addressed to Flavius Apion (the third of the name), styles himself "by the help of God, contractor of the race-course belonging to your honourable house and of the stable belonging to your said honourable house": some sixty years earlier it is mentioned as "the public circus." The spectators at Oxyrhynchos, as elsewhere, divided themselves into the factions of the Blues and the Greens; and each side seems to have kept its own starters, and to have provided funds for the maintenance of its horses: receipts are preserved, one for a payment "to the two starters of the horses on the side of the Blues as their month's wages," and another "for the cost of embrocation bought for the use of the horses of the public circus on the side of the Greens." The violence of party spirit over the circus-races was

increased by the tendency to identify the two factions with the two great antagonistic sections of the Eastern Christian Church ; and the extent to which the partisans indulged their quarrel is shown by the fact that, even while the Romans were besieged in Alexandria by 'Amr, there were open battles in the streets between the Blues, led by Domentianus, prefect of the Fayûm, and the Greens, headed by Menas the dux.

39. The occasions for the displays, more especially those of theatrical or musical performances in the villages, were probably for the most part religious festivals, when all the people made holiday and gathered their friends to join in the entertainment: a pressing invitation from Petosiris to Serenia to come up "for the birthday festival of the god" may serve as an illustration. But there were also festivals of an imperial character, to celebrate the accession of a new ruler, a victory of the Roman arms, or a visit of a high official: a proclamation from Oxyrhynchos directs rejoicing and sacrifices for the declaration of Nero as emperor, the succession of Hadrian to Trajan was announced at Apollinopolis by a theatrical dialogue, the prefect sent orders throughout the country for a fifteen days' holiday when Pertinax was selected as emperor, and a similar celebration seems to have followed the nomination of Maximus as Cæsar; the suppression of the Jewish revolt under Trajan and Hadrian was kept in memory by an annual feast at Oxyrhynchos for over eighty years, and services for the victory of the imperial house are among those named in the accounts of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Arsinoë; the same papyrus mentions the hiring of an orator to address the prefect on the occasion of his visit to the temple. It would appear indeed that the accession and the birthday of the reigning emperor and other members of his house were commemorated every month by the marking of the appropriate days as "august"; but these are not likely to have been public holidays, and, except for the actual accession festival, it is probable that the pro-

ceedings in celebration of such imperial events were of a somewhat formal nature, while the popular rejoicings and festivities would belong rather to the religious anniversaries.

40. The clubs and synods which had played a large part in the social life of Alexandria and Egypt under the Ptolemies were less prominent after the Roman conquest: Roman statesmen looked on such clubs with suspicion, and the clubs of Alexandria, which, according to Philo, met nominally for sacrifices but really for drinking, were dissolved by the prefect Flaccus towards the end of the reign of Tiberius. There are, however, traces of societies of this kind at a later date. In the second century a synod of Amenothēs at Thebes seems to have held frequent meetings for drinking, so far as can be judged from a list of jars of wine contributed by various individuals on thirteen days during a period of two months. An entry in the *Gnomon* of the *idiologos* to the effect that fines were inflicted on members of clubs, but sometimes only on the presidents, suggests that though they were illegal institutions, they were not rigorously suppressed, but rather looked upon by the authorities as a source of revenue.

41. There is plentiful evidence as to private entertainments, apart from the public festivals: a long series of invitations to dinner found at Oxyrhynchos specify, among the occasions for entertainment, birthdays, comings of age, and marriages, and as the places, besides private houses, the temples of Sarapis, Thōeris, and Demeter; the only similar document from another district is an invitation to a wedding feast found at Euhemereia. But many of the private letters which have been preserved refer to the preparations for such feasts: good examples may be found in the correspondence of Bellienus Gemellus, a veteran settled in the Fayûm at the end of the first century, who frequently ordered supplies for birthday festivals and the like. It is noticeable that, though Gemellus was a man of considerable property, his

orders do not suggest that his banquets were luxurious: fish and poultry, and on one occasion two pigs for sacrifice, are all that he wants as an addition to the regular provision. Alexandrian dinner parties might, as stated by Philo, be disorderly and end in fights and even murders—a description which is borne out by the evidence of Athenæus—but a pleasanter picture of social life in the country towns and villages can be drawn from the papyri. In addition to the family gatherings, harvest festivals, such as the Amesysia in June, are mentioned, when special allowances were made to the labourers on the land: provision for these was sometimes included in leases in the form of an annual payment in kind, technically known as *thallos*, such as a measure of wheat or oil, or poultry or eggs.

42. It has been noted above that the gymnasium disappears as a centre of recreation in the records of the Byzantine period, a change which may have been due in part to the influence of Christian ideas as interpreted at that time; but the public baths, which were closely associated with the gymnasia, lasted longer, although the monks regarded them with little favour. Even small villages, such as Euhemereia in the Fayûm, had their baths, while the maintenance and repair of the baths at Oxyrhynchos appear several times as items in the city accounts: there seem to have been at least three sets of baths there at the end of the third century, and possibly more, if the baths of Antoninus, Trajan, and Hadrian mentioned elsewhere are distinct from the former three, the only one of these to which a name is given being the bath of Cæsar: the latest document dealing with them is dated in 316, when a contract for painting the baths of Hadrian refers to a vapour-bath and colonnades. In the Byzantine period private enterprise may have taken over the provision of bathing establishments: a fifth century papyrus from Hermopolis deals with a lease of one, including women's apartments, and specifying the decorations, columns, statues, doors,

furniture, and appliances ; and in the next century the great estates had their own baths. But a new public bath is mentioned in a papyrus of the sixth or seventh century from Oxyrhynchos which contains a list of contributions towards its maintenance.

43. Travel as a means of recreation was probably confined to the upper classes, more especially the Romans, in Egypt: the government did not favour the idea of departure from home on the part of the natives, whose business it was to stay and work for the benefit of their masters ; and a passport from the prefect was required even by a citizen of another country as authority for leaving Egypt. But inscriptions, mainly graffiti scribbled on walls by visitors, as well as accounts in ancient writers of the journeys of distinguished people, show a plentiful crop of tourists, who seem to have followed much the same route as those of the present day. Alexandria would be the starting-point of the tour ; the next show-place up the river was Heliopolis, mentioned by Strabo ; then Memphis, with the Pyramids and the Sphinx, on the latter of which records of visits are still preserved. In the Fayûm, the Labyrinth and Pyramid of Hawara and the sacred crocodiles at Arsinoe were the chief sights in the time of Strabo: farther up, graffiti on the temples of Abydos testify to the presence of Roman tourists. At Thebes, the centres of interest were the "Memnon" colossus and the Tombs of the Kings: on the former are numerous inscriptions down to the time when Septimius Severus restored the broken statue and so unwittingly put an end to the musical sounds emitted by it at sunrise and spoilt its popularity ; the Tombs continued to be visited till the reign of Constantine. The farthest point of the ordinary tour was probably Syene and the temples of Philæ. Most of the Roman records date from the first two centuries ; by the middle of the third, raids from Nubia made Upper Egypt unsafe, and the generally disturbed condition of the empire thereafter would not encourage travellers.

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44. In regard of the morals and conduct of the Egyptians, the general impression produced by a survey of the papyri is rather unfavourable: accounts of quarrels between villages and complaints to the authorities of thefts and assaults are very frequent. The impression is perhaps not quite a fair one, as the evil deeds were naturally chronicled, while the good ones went unrecorded; but the Romans, not without reason, regarded Egypt as a country particularly liable to disturbance. Instances of local feuds have been quoted in an earlier chapter; and they went on till the end of the Byzantine period. For examples, a single volume of documents from Oxyrhynchos, dating from the latter part of this period, contains a complaint from the head-man of one village to the head-man of another about a fight between the shepherds of their respective villages which had ended in the theft of a number of sheep; a letter concerning a raid made into a village during a feast by the inhabitants of another village and their police, who carried off the cash held by the steward of the raided community; another letter stating the result of an arbitration between two villages, each of which had taken goods belonging to the other; and another dealing with cattle-reaving by villages. It is possible that the statements are somewhat highly coloured at times: the most remarkable letter of all can hardly be accepted at its face-value as an account of a local fight, but is worth quoting as a specimen of Egyptian attempts at eloquence and style. A man, writing to his father, says: "I still see in imagination the riots and madness at Lycopolis, still I dream of the myriad attacking missile-throwings of the instruments of pillage, and like one in misfortune or under sentence I feel my head dazed, my reasoning faculties confused, and my understanding disordered. And while my soul is tempest-tossed and surging amid dangers, they float before my eyes: myself I see long lost, even though against expectation I survive, my wife, a free woman, even though fortune favours us, still besieged, and my little gently nurtured daughter,

saved indeed, but by reason of the perils that beset her in woe and lamentation."

45. Similar complaints on a minor scale show that neighbours in the villages raided one another as a variant on making organised inroads upon other communities: instances may be found in a group of papyri from Euhemereia composed of petitions to the authorities for redress of grievances: they are mainly concerned with charges of theft and assault of many kinds, several of which arise from a common source of trouble, the grazing down of crops by animals, and one refers to a scuffle in the public baths, which appear from other sources of information to have been a fruitful breeding-ground for quarrels. Examples could be multiplied indefinitely: two may be quoted as typical. A female seller of vegetables notified the strategos that another woman "though she had no occasion against me, came to my house on the fourth of this month and made herself most unpleasant to me: besides tearing my tunic and cloak, she carried off sixteen drachmas that I had put by, the price of vegetables I had sold. And on the fifth her husband came into my house, pretending he was looking for my husband, and took my lamp and went up into the house; and he went off with a pair of silver armlets weighing forty drachmas, my husband being away from home." A more serious accusation was addressed to the prefect by a man from the Great Oasis, who stated that he had married a wife of his own tribe, a freeborn woman of free parents, and had children by her; but a family of people "committed an act which disgraces all the chiefs of the town, and shows their recklessness: they carried off my wife and children aforesaid to their own house, calling them slaves, though they are free, and my wife has brothers living who are free; and when I remonstrated they seized me and beat me shamefully." Perhaps the most curious commentary on the state of Egypt may be found in the Life of Shenute. On one occasion a man came to him and, on being told by the saint that he was a murderer, remembered an incident which had

apparently passed out of his memory — how he had taken up his sword, gone out, and killed a woman, no reason whatever being suggested for this.

46. It may be said that many of the complaints recorded are such as constantly occur in other countries besides Egypt even at the present day, and that it is unjust on incomplete evidence to describe the Egyptians as being exceptionally quarrelsome or criminal. Even if they were, however, there was a good deal of excuse for them in the incompetence of their governors. In the earlier centuries of Roman rule, the highest officials, who were Romans, probably intended to administer the country with strict justice, and the edicts of prefects and other authorities which have been preserved set forth regulations against malpractices by their subordinates to which no exception can be taken in regard to equity. But the subordinates were mainly Græco-Egyptians, and the Romans, even with the best of intentions, could not keep them in order: letters from a prefect show that the strategoi and royal scribes peculated freely from the imperial revenues; and bribes were commonly taken. An amusing letter warns the keeper of the accounts of a temple that the government auditor is on his way, but the writer asserts that he could get any difficulties in respect of passing the accounts smoothed over, and drops broad hints as to the return expected; and in the correspondence of Bellienus Gemellus with his sons the sending of presents to the strategos is mentioned as if it were a natural incident. The constant reiteration of orders against unauthorised quarterings and requisitions by officials also shows that the orders were of little permanent effect. But matters became far worse in the Byzantine period: the old Roman tradition had broken down even in the highest ranks of the civil service, and every man did what was right in his own eyes, so long as he could escape offending some more powerful person. In the *Life of Schenute* it is recorded that the dux when on his way up the river had a number of robbers presented to him, and promptly put them to

death without trial: this summary proceeding may be compared with the action of a lower official, a *riparius* in a village of the Oxyrhynchite nome, who ordered the head-man to appear before him next day and bring certain men who had injured the fields and the guards who had not hindered them, otherwise he would report them and have their houses sacked by soldiers. The soldiers would doubtless have carried out these instructions readily, since they frequently appear at this period—the sixth century—as plundering and tyrannising over the villagers: for instance, some petitioners of Aphrodito assert that certain soldiers had burnt houses and beaten a man to death. Many of the so-called soldiers were really little better than brigands, and the great proprietors seem to have formed bands of retainers of their own for the protection of their estates against these adventurers. So far as there was any maintenance of order and any semblance of administration in Egypt in those days, it must be put down to the credit of the landed aristocracy, not of the central government: where there was no great lord, all was chaos.

47. But life in the towns and villages of Egypt need not be assumed to have been made up of quarrels and misery: if the official papers give the darker side, some relief may be found in the private letters. The correspondence of Bellienus Gemellus, to which reference has more than once been made, presents a not unpleasing picture of a retired soldier during ten years of his later life, beginning in his sixty-eighth year, spent on the farms which he had acquired in the Fayûm — an imperfectly educated old man, keenly interested in agriculture, with several children whose level of culture was somewhat higher than his own. His editors summarise what is known of him as follows: "He kept himself informed of all that went on, exercising a general supervision over the management of affairs, and does not hesitate to express disapproval when dissatisfied with the proceedings of his lieutenants. The more genial side of his character

is exhibited in the frequent ordering of supplies for the celebration of some festival or the birthday of some member of the family. He liked to keep up friendly relations with the officials, and was evidently fully alive to the value of occasional baksheesh. The general impression of Gemellus left by these letters is that of a shrewd old man of business, somewhat wilful and exacting, but of a kind and generous disposition." Another group of correspondence of about ten years later belongs to Apollonios, apparently a resident of Hermopolis, who had been appointed strategos of the nome of Heptakomia, and during his tenure of office had had to organise the peasantry of his nome as a force of militia and march northwards with them to assist in suppressing the rising of the Jews: some of the letters have a very human interest on account of the affectionate terms in which he is addressed by members of his household. Thus his wife Aline writes to him: "I am constantly sleepless, filled night and day with the one anxiety for your safety. Only my father's attentions kept my spirits up, and on New Year's Day I assure you I should have gone to bed fasting but that my father came in and compelled me to eat. I implore you therefore to take care of yourself and not face the danger without a guard." Another woman, Taus, probably one of his slaves, says: "Above all I greet you, master, and pray constantly for your health. I was greatly distressed, sir, to hear that you were unwell, but thank all the gods that they keep you safe and sound. I beg you, if you please, sir, to send to us, else we are dying for want of the sight of you daily. Would that we could fly and come and greet you." These and two or three similar collections of letters give not a little insight into the homes to which they belong; and their testimony is amplified and confirmed by the stray documents which chance has preserved, each mentioning an individual or two unknown from any other source, but adding some slight detail to the general picture of the Egyptian people: their messages of congratulation or con-

dolence, advice or reproof, requests or acknowledgments, combine to show that life in Roman Egypt was not merely a daily round of servile toil to supply the demands of the capital, and that even under a bad government men could find some happiness.

APPENDIX

I. QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE LIST OF PREFECTS.

(A) *Ælius Gallus and Petronius.*

THERE has been much discussion whether Ælius Gallus preceded or succeeded Petronius as prefect; and the view of Lesquier (*L'armée Romaine*, p. 10, note 3) is that the question is decided by the arrangement of a passage in Strabo (xvii. 1. 53), where, in referring to events which happened in the early years of Roman rule over Egypt, he mentions first those in which Cornelius Gallus, then those in which Petronius, then those in which Ælius Gallus took part. But the words of Strabo do not necessarily support this conclusion: he is quoting instances to show that the Egyptians and the neighbouring nations were unwarlike, and it does not appear that he intends them to be in chronological order: briefly, his statement is as follows. Cornelius Gallus, "the first prefect appointed," easily subdued risings in the country; "afterwards," Petronius quelled a disturbance in Alexandria, "and" Ælius Gallus, but for treachery, might have conquered Arabia. He does not say that Petronius was the direct successor of Cornelius Gallus, nor that Ælius Gallus came after Petronius; and the order of his instances is probably determined by that of his previous proposition, where he speaks first of the Egyptians, then of other nations: following this, he mentions the experience of the Romans in Arabia after that in Egypt itself.

It is quite clear from the narrative of Strabo (xvii. 1. 54) that the Arabian expedition of Ælius Gallus took

place before the Æthiopian expedition of Petronius, the latter being designed to punish raids which had been made into Egypt during the absence of part of the Roman garrison in Arabia. And the Arabian expedition is the only datable connexion of Ælius Gallus with Egypt: it is known that he was prefect at some period, from the statement of Strabo (xvii. 1. 29) that he visited Egypt in the company of Ælius Gallus when prefect, but there is nothing to fix the exact time of Strabo's visit, which may quite well have been before the Arabian expedition. So the natural conclusion would seem to be that Ælius Gallus commanded the expedition as prefect, and that therefore his prefecture preceded that of Petronius.

It has, however, been argued that Ælius Gallus could not have gone to Arabia during his prefecture, because a prefect of Egypt was not allowed to quit his province. But this rule, whatever may have been the case later, does not seem to have been in force at this period, as Petronius certainly quitted his province during his tenure of office: Pliny (N.H. vi. 181) expressly says that Petronius conducted his expedition into Æthiopia as prefect; and it is reasonable to suppose that Ælius Gallus might similarly go to Arabia. It would have been a strange restriction to prohibit the prefect, the supreme military commander in Egypt, from conducting operations in person against neighbouring countries in the interests of his province.

It may be added that the supposition that Ælius Gallus was appointed prefect of Egypt some years after his Arabian expedition does not seem probable, in view of the fact that the expedition was a failure. Augustus was not in the habit of giving further employment to men who had proved themselves incompetent, and it is very unlikely that he would have sent back to Egypt as governor a man who had last been seen there as a discomfited general leading back a beaten army.

The theory put forward in the first edition of this history, that Petronius was twice prefect, before and after Ælius Gallus, may be abandoned, as the refer-

ences in Strabo can be explained otherwise, and there is no other ground for assuming the possibility of a second tenure of office by a prefect.

(B) *Æmilius Rectus and Vitrasius Pollio.*

Two men are named by Dio Cassius as having been prefects of Egypt under Tiberius who are not mentioned by any other author or in any other document as serving in that reign, but have the same names as men who are known from papyri and inscriptions to have held office as prefects a few years later. These are Æmilius Rectus and Vitrasius Pollio: the first is said by Dio (lvii. 10) to have been the prefect to whom Tiberius addressed the instruction not to flay but to shear his sheep, the second (lvii. 19) to have died in office and to have been succeeded by Hiberus, a freedman. There is good evidence for the prefecture of L. Æmilius Rectus under Claudius in 41-2, and for that of C. Vitrasius Pollio under Caligula in 39-40; and it seems to give some ground for suspicion when the same names are found attached to anecdotes concerning prefects of an earlier reign in an author who wrote nearly two centuries after this time. It is not of course impossible that two men of the same name may have held the same office within a brief period—in the second century two T. Flavii Titiani were prefects with an interval of something over thirty years—but it is unlikely, and the double duplication casts considerable doubt on the value of Dio's evidence. It is also possible that an ex-prefect might return to hold the same post after a break; but this does not seem probable, and there is no certain instance of such a return (see discussion in next note). So it may be considered whether any explanation of the occurrence of the names in Dio can be found.

As regards Æmilius Rectus, the explanation seems fairly simple. The personality of the prefect to whom Tiberius addressed himself is not really material to the point of the anecdote, and it is easy to suppose that

Dio had got hold of a good story about Tiberius and a prefect, which may quite well have been correct in itself, and to add verisimilitude to it tacked on the name of a man whom he knew to have been prefect about the time. Alternatively it may be suggested that Æmilius Rectus was not prefect, but held some lower office, such as that of *dioiketes*, in the reign of Tiberius, and was later appointed prefect: instances of return on promotion are known, as in the case of Cæcina Rufus, who was *dikaiodotes* under Claudius and prefect about ten years afterwards under Nero. But against this suggestion is the fact that the imperial orders as to taxation in Egypt were regularly transmitted to the prefect, not to a lower officer; and so the part played by Æmilius Rectus in the anecdote of Dio properly belongs to the prefect.

The statement concerning Vitrasius Pollio seems to be more intimately concerned with the individuality of the person in question; but here too an origin of confusion may be conjectured. Seneca (*Cons. ad Helviam*, 19. 4) mentions that his uncle, who had been prefect of Egypt for sixteen years, died on his way home: it is almost certain that this must have been C. Galerius, who is known to have been prefect in 23, and his death probably took place in 31 or 32. Hiberus, the freedman mentioned by Dio, also died in office and was succeeded by Flaccus (*Philo, adv. Flaccum*, 2), probably in 32. If Dio's account is correct, Vitrasius Pollio must have come between Galerius and Hiberus and also died in office—which would make a remarkable succession of fatalities among the prefects in the course of a few months. It seems possible that Dio, knowing that an acting prefect had died and that a freedman had succeeded a dead prefect under Tiberius, and that Pollio had been prefect about this time, got his notes mixed, and wrote of Pollio having died in office and been succeeded by Hiberus when he was really alluding to the death of Galerius immediately on leaving office, the succession of Hiberus, and the death of Hiberus in office.

In any case it seems safer, till independent evidence of the prefecture of an Æmilius Rectus or a Vitrasius Pollio under Tiberius is found, to leave these names out of the list.

(C) *Petronius Secundus and Junius Rufus.*

The order of the prefects in the latter part of the reign of Domitian has given rise to a good deal of discussion: the latest statement of the succession, as given by P. M. Meyer in his note on P. Hamb. 60, is as follows: M. Mettius Rufus, T. Petronius Secundus, M. Junius Rufus, T. Petronius Secundus again, M. Junius Rufus again. This, however, is not altogether satisfactory, as it involves an alternation of office between Petronius Secundus and Junius Rufus which is on the face of it curious: until Byzantine times there is no clear case of the return of a prefect to Egypt for a second term, and the general practice of the Roman civil service would have been against such a return: it was quite a different matter for a man who had held a subordinate post in a province to come back there on promotion, as in the instance of Cæcina Rufus quoted in the preceding note. The difficulty, however, in regard to the two prefects now under consideration really arises from a single record, and it can perhaps be removed by a simple correction.

Mettius Rufus is known to have been in office till Dec. 90 (P. Hamb. 60); and well-attested dates for Petronius Secundus are 91½ (P. Iand. 53ⁱⁱ) and 7th Apr. 93 (S.B. 5793). There are two records of the prefecture of Junius Rufus in 94 (P. Hamb. 29 of 26th Feb., and W. Chr. 463 of 1st July), and he was also prefect after the accession of Trajan in 98 (Arch. Pap. vi. 101). But an inscription on the Memnon statue at Thebes (C.I.L. 37) records the visit of Petronius Secundus as prefect; and, if the reading taken in the Corpus is correct, the date of this is 14th March 95, which interrupts the known dates of Junius Rufus and leads to Meyer's supposition of an alternation of office. The reading, however, is uncertain: it is dependent on old

copies, as the part containing the date is now defaced, and the copies do not agree. The date is given by the consulship of the Emperor, and Salt read XVII, but Girard XIII C: the Corpus restores XVII COS. A permissible correction, which would be nearer Girard's reading and not far from Salt's, would be XVI COS; and, as Domitian's sixteenth consulship covered the years 92, 93, and 94, the date might be 14th March 92 or 93, either of which would come before the first date for Junius Rufus.

The question cannot be settled on the evidence of C.I.L. 37, but it seems clear that this inscription does not furnish conclusive proof that Petronius Secundus was prefect in 95.

II. THE SENATE OF ALEXANDRIA.

Important material for the consideration of the problem whether Alexandria possessed a senate under the Ptolemies has been furnished by H. I. Bell's publication of the letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians in P. Lond. 1912; but the exact implications of the words of Claudius are not quite clear, and a detailed examination of them may be useful.

The emperor begins his answer to the request of the Alexandrians with the assertion, "As regards the state of affairs under the kings of the old dynasty I have nothing to say, but you are well aware that you have had no senate under the emperors who preceded me." It can hardly be doubted that this opening was prompted by what had been said in the Alexandrian petition: Claudius would not have placed in the forefront of his argument a reference to the conditions under the Ptolemies, especially when he wished to leave these out of consideration, unless he had been taking up a point made by the representatives of the city. The whole letter is a statesmanlike document, and evidently the work of an able draftsman, who would not be likely to introduce an otiose passage.

It may be remarked in passing that the meaning of the phrase οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν here must be, as Rostovtzeff takes it, "I have nothing to say," not "I cannot say." Claudius would certainly have been aware, either from his own knowledge of history or from the material in possession of his secretariat, whether Alexandria had had a senate in Ptolemaic times or not; and, even if he had been ignorant of the facts, the Alexandrian embassy would have given him all the information he needed: it is hardly credible that he would make such a false step as to confess ignorance of the matter. But the words are not intended simply as an evasion of the point: they are rather a deliberate refusal to admit it to discussion, the implied argument being that a privilege granted by the Ptolemies had no value as a precedent for a Roman emperor: there was a new order in Egypt, and the former things had passed away.

If it is granted that Claudius knew the past history and refused to allow it to be quoted as a precedent, the obvious conclusion is that what was claimed as a precedent was advanced in support of the Alexandrian request—in other words, that there had been a senate under the Ptolemies. The same conclusion follows from the postulate that the reference of Claudius to Ptolemaic practice is in reply to an Alexandrian reference to the same point; for, if there had never been a senate at Alexandria under the Ptolemies, it would have been an argument against the Alexandrian case: Claudius might have said, "You are asking me to give you something which your Greek kings never gave you"; and the Alexandrian envoys would never have furnished a lead for such a damaging retort.

From Bell's introduction to P. Lond. 1912 it appears that Rostovtzeff and Hunt, after consideration of the new evidence, are in favour of the view originally expressed by Jouguet that Alexandria had possessed a senate under the earlier kings of the Ptolemaic house, but that it had been abolished some time before the Roman conquest; and Bell (in the Addenda) is now prepared to accept this. But if this had been the case,

it would have been just as impolitic for the envoys to mention the Ptolemaic arrangements as if there had never been a senate at all: Claudius could have replied, "You say you had a senate under your own kings; but your own kings took it away: they, who lived among you and knew you intimately, judged that you ought not to have one." And the whole trend of the argument is in the direction of making a sharp contrast between the practice of the kings and that of the empire: the force of the opening sentence of Claudius would be impaired if the Alexandrian senate had been abolished by the kings.

As regards the possibility that the senate was taken away by Augustus, Bell objects that, if this had been the case, it is improbable that Claudius would not have mentioned the fact as a precedent. But surely the precedent is implied in the words, "You are well aware that you have had no senate under the emperors who preceded me." In this compendious statement, Claudius is referring to the constitution as settled by Augustus and confirmed by the practice of Tiberius and Caligula; and, as his attitude is throughout that all the Ptolemaic arrangements came automatically to an end at the Roman conquest, and the organisation of the government of Egypt by Augustus was something entirely new (although certain items of the Ptolemaic system might be continued by a special act of confirmation), he would regard the historical position as being, not that Augustus had abolished a senate, but that he had not created one.

Expanded with what may be assumed to have been common knowledge, the argument of Claudius may be put thus: "You ask that you may be granted a senate, as you had one under your former kings; but their kingdom and all their arrangements are ended, and it is no use discussing them: you are now living under the Roman empire, and neither Augustus, nor Tiberius, nor Caligula allowed you to have a senate: your request is for something without precedent under the present system of government."

This idea is taken up in the next sentence—"This then is a new proposal: it is uncertain whether it will be to the advantage of the city and my interests"—where stress is doubtless to be laid on the last words: it may be conjectured that the envoys had dwelt on the advantages which would accrue to the city from the grant of a senate, and Claudius pointedly reminds them that his interests came into consideration as well: the proposal was a novel one in relation to the empire, and so required further investigation. If the welfare of Alexandria had been the sole question at issue, the importance of self-government by a senate to a Hellenistic city was something that could hardly have been described as a novelty.

The earlier reference in lines 57-9 of the letter to the confirmation of Alexandrian privileges by Augustus does not seem to have any definite bearing on the question of the previous existence of a senate, as the remark is quite general, and can hardly be meant to be interpreted literally. Claudius says, "I will that all things shall be confirmed which were granted you by the rulers before me and the kings and the prefects, as Augustus confirmed them"; but there could obviously be no question of Augustus confirming the grants of emperors before Claudius or of prefects—in other words, grants made either in his own reign or in those of his successors; and if the confirmation by Augustus refers only to the acts of the kings, the sentence has got tangled into a knot. In any case, it can hardly be assumed from these words that Augustus confirmed all the privileges granted to Alexandria by the Ptolemies.

It may be added that it is clear that Claudius had no intention of acceding to the Alexandrian request, and so resorted to the device, familiar to governments of all times when desirous of quietly suppressing an awkward question, of appointing a commissioner to inquire into the merits of the case. Whether the commissioner ever reported is unknown, and probably mattered little: the Alexandrians did not get their

senate for more than a century and a half after the date of this petition.

III. THE ECCLESIASTICAL REORGANISATION UNDER AUGUSTUS.

The procedure adopted by Augustus for bringing the whole organisation of worship in Egypt, together with the endowments of the temples, under direct State control offers an interesting example of his methods, and may be elucidated with the aid of a modern parallel.

The arrangement, put in the simplest terms, was that the government took over the management of temple property, and in lieu of the income formerly derived by each temple from its estates paid a fixed subvention, the *σύνταξις*. Thus it appears from B.G.U. 1200 that a temple at Busiris in the Herakleopolite nome had possessed certain lands which in 20-19 B.C. were placed under the control of the State: an allowance of one hundred artabas of corn was granted to the priests out of the produce of the lands, to which were added another hundred artabas from the Treasury and two hundred and eighty drachmas for sacrifices for the emperor and other duties. In this instance it looks as if the transaction was to the advantage of the temple, since an addition to the income from the old endowment seems to have been provided by the State to make up the annual subvention; in other cases a richly endowed temple may have suffered some loss in its total receipts; but in any event the priests would have a fixed sum secured to them in place of one which, like most incomes from land, varied with good or bad seasons.

But P. Tebt. 302 shows that a temple was not compelled to take a money payment: in the case described in that document, the priests of Soknebtunis had been granted by Petronius, the prefect who carried out the reorganisation, an area of land in substitution for the *σύνταξις*; and their successors were still in occupation

of that land ninety years later, and were meeting the cost of services in the temple from the revenues derived from the land without any State subvention.

The option which would appear to have been given by Augustus to the priests, either to surrender their land and take a fixed payment in money and kind or to be left in the enjoyment of the income from a definite estate, seems very similar to that given by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in the last century to certain bodies, such as the Deans and Chapters of the English Cathedral establishments, who had the choice of receiving a certain annual sum from the Commissioners, in whom the management of their estates was vested, or alternatively of continuing to hold lands estimated to produce an equivalent sum. It is possible that the ostensible reason for the action of the government was the same in both cases—to secure a more equitable distribution of the resources dedicated to the service of religion.

The analogy must not, however, be pushed too far, as the circumstances of the Egyptian temples under Augustus and those of the English Church under William IV. and Victoria were of course widely different. Augustus found nothing of the nature of a State control of religion existing in Egypt: such an idea was quite foreign to the Greek conception of the relations between man and the gods: the Ptolemies had obtained a lien on certain sacred revenues by the expedient of appropriating them to the worship of their own house, but otherwise they seem to have interfered as little as possible with the endowments or management of the native temples. A continuance of this plan would not have been in accordance with the general policy of Augustus: he had no desire to be deified in his lifetime, so the *apomoirā* and similar appropriated taxes went into the ecclesiastical chest and were applied to the maintenance of worship generally—which included, it is true, sacrifices for the emperor and his house, but only as an adjunct to the regular ceremonial; but to a Roman mind the worship of the gods was

pre-eminently the concern of the State, and it was in the natural order of things that Augustus should introduce a complete system of official control over temple finance. In England the connexion of Church and State had been settled long before the time of William IV.: the secularisation of some ecclesiastical funds—firstfruits and tithes—had indeed gone further than anything known to have been done by the Ptolemies, when Henry VIII. caused them to be paid to him instead of to the Pope; but they had been restored to the service of the Church and placed under the control of the Commissioners of Queen Anne's Bounty, so that they did not come within the purview of the Ecclesiastical Commission when that body was set up to redistribute the endowments of the Church. The interest of the comparison lies in the methods adopted for apportioning the available funds in Egypt and in England.

As regards the general management of the sacred revenues, while Augustus, as mentioned above, did not desire to pose as a god, still less did he desire to place his representative in Egypt, the prefect, in a position of religious supremacy; and it was in accordance with the elaborate scheme of counter-checks among his officials which is found in other departments that he entrusted the management of temple lands, with that of the worship of the gods generally, to the *idiologos*, who was indeed subordinate in rank to the prefect, but was appointed by, and probably directly responsible to, the emperor. The *idiologos*, although titular high-priest of all Egypt, was in fact a purely secular officer, who administered the ecclesiastical revenues together with the *bona caduca et vacantia*, which would offer very similar problems of management.

The funds available for the maintenance of the temples and their work, whether derived from the old estates or from allotted taxes, seem to have been kept as a distinct account in the Alexandrian Treasury, as shown by numerous documents, especially P. Ryl. 213 (on which see the full discussion in the introduction to

that papyrus by Johnson, Martin, and Hunt), until the end of the second century A.D. On the establishment of local self-government in the metropoleis in 200 A.D., the control of the temples was handed over to the senates, and the endowments were municipalised.

One important result of the measures of Augustus was undoubtedly that the power and influence of the Egyptian priesthood were diminished by their conversion (put in extreme terms) from territorial magnates into State pensioners; and it is quite likely that this result was designed. But the introduction of the change was evidently worked under a skilfully contrived veil of apparent benefits for the temples, such as the stabilisation of their income under a State guarantee, the transfer of the burden of estate-management from the priests to the Civil Service, and the restoration to ecclesiastical uses of the revenues appropriated by the Ptolemies. Probably the majority of the priests did not realise that their corporate position was being weakened, and certainly the people generally would not appreciate the meaning of the change, even if they were aware that any change was being made. The effects of nationalisation or municipalisation are more easily discerned some generations after the event.

IV. THE POWERS OF THE ARCHONS BEFORE SEVERUS.

The determination of the date of the visit of Severus to Egypt as the winter of 199-200 A.D., instead of 202, the year previously accepted, which was made in J.E.A. 1917, p. 180, and independently by J. Hasebroek (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus*, p. 118), involves a reconsideration of the question of the authority exercised by the archons of the Egyptian metropoleis in the first and second centuries. It has been assumed, from the mention in P. Oxy. 54 = W. Chr. 34, dated in 201 A.D., of a decree of the *κοινὸν τῶν ἀρχόντων* of Oxyrhynchos, dealing with the application of certain sums out of funds of the city to the repair of the public baths, that the body of

archons possessed communal powers before the institution of senates by Severus; and it has been argued back from this (*e.g.* by Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, pp. 39-40, and Oertel, *die Liturgie*, pp. 313-6) that the powers were of older standing. But the discovery that this document refers to events after, not before, the visit of Severus and the establishment of senates, which is accepted to have been the immediate consequence of the visit, invalidates this conclusion.

There is no certain evidence in any other record of joint action by the archons of an Egyptian town before 200, except in P. Lond. 604 of 47 A.D.; and, as this papyrus has been shown by Wilcken (*Arch. Pap.* iv. p. 535) to refer to Ptolemais, it only serves to confirm the accepted view that Ptolemais retained its senate under Roman rule, and affords no clue as to the constitution of other towns. P. Oxy. 473 = W. Chr. 33 has been taken to contain a collective vote of the archons and people of Oxyrhynchos; but the critical words are lost, and the restoration proposed by the editors is by no means certain; and in any case the association in it of the populace, expressly including Romans and Alexandrians who were in the town, with the archons makes it clear that this is something quite distinct from a decree of an assembly of archons. P. Amh. 70 = W. Chr. 149 and P. Oxy. 1117 both point to the financial responsibility of the archons being individual and personal, with no State or municipal backing. The view expressed by Jouguet (*La Vie Municipale dans l'Égypte Romaine*, pp. 292-314, summarised on last page) appears to be correct: the archons did not form a college in any legal sense, but were simply a group of persons of rank, any one of whom might be charged with special duties at his own expense, or might be entrusted with the application of funds allotted to some particular purpose.

The most detailed account of any proceedings in which archons were concerned during the second century is that given in P. Ryl. 77 of 192 A.D., which describes the nomination of a kosmetes at Hermopolis; and it

seems impossible to extract from this record any evidence of collective action by the whole body of archons. In the report made to the strategos, the archons do not suggest that they had done anything more than urge a certain Achilles to take a lower but more expensive office than that for which he had offered himself; and in fact they had no greater part in the selection than the assembled multitude, who similarly exhorted the reluctant Achilles by their acclamations. The actual responsibility for the choice of a nominee rested with an individual who put Achilles forward at the risk of having to take office himself if his nomination were not accepted. There is nothing in the whole account to suggest that the archons had any power of election comparable to that possessed by the senates in the third century, which appears for instance in the records contained in P. Oxy. 1413-6.

It may be argued that the use of the term *κοινὸν τῶν ἀρχόντων* instead of *Boule* to describe the body which acted at Oxyrhynchos in 201 A.D. shows that the senate, as it existed later in the third century, had not then been constituted. This is possible, but it does not follow that the *koinon* was a continuation of an old organisation which had been invested with functions of government before the reforms of Severus. It seems more natural to explain the use of the special term by the supposition that the first senate would be formed mainly if not entirely from men who had held the various titular offices in their city; and under these circumstances, until the new name had found its way into common use, the body might well be known popularly as the assembly of the archons: the term, which has only occurred in this one instance, is in fact a loose and unofficial one belonging to a period of transition.

NOTES

THE lists of prefects in the first three chapters are mainly based on the material collected in Lesquier, *L'armée Romaine d'Égypte*. The earliest and latest known dates for each prefect are given, with references to the sources of information. A similar plan has been followed for the other high Roman officials—the *idiologoi*, *dioiketai*, *dikaiodotai*, and *epistrategoi*, the last-mentioned being given separately for the three divisions of the Delta, Heptanomis, and Thebaid.

CHAPTER I.

Augustus. Prefects.—Lesquier places Ælius Gallus after Petronius, mainly on the ground that Strabo names Petronius first. But as to this see Appendix I. (A).

§ 1. Camp at Nikopolis, Dio Cassius, li. 18; cf. Lesquier, c. ix. p. 389; Breccia, *Alexandrea*, p. 87: abolition of senate, see c. vii. § 22: privileges of Jews, Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 7. 2, xix. 5. 2; Philo, *leg. ad Gaium*, 10.

§ 2. Visit to Memphis, Suetonius, *Aug.* 93; Dio Cass. li. 16; cf. Lesquier, p. 6.

§ 3. Strabo, xvii. 1. 53; inscription of Gallus from Philæ, C.I.L. 14147^b = I.G.R. 1293.

§ 4. Dio Cass. liii. 23; Ammianus Marcellinus, xvii. 4.

§§ 5-7. Strabo, xvi. 4. 22; Dio Cass. liii. 29; cf. Lesquier, p. 9.

§§ 8-9. Strabo, xvii. 1. 54; Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 181; Dio Cass. liv. 5; cf. Lesquier, p. 15. On organisation of the frontier, cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 29; F. Blumenthal in *Arch. Pap.* v. p. 321. Inscription at Pselkis, I.G.R. 1359.

§ 10. Strabo, xvii. 1. 53; Suetonius, *Aug.* 17, 18.

§ 11. Cf. P. Tebt. 302 = W. Chr. 368; B.G.U. 1200; c. x. § 2; Appendix III.; also A. Stein, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte u. Verwaltung Aegyptens*, p. 83.

§ 12. Tentyra, I.G.R. 1163; Philæ, cf. H. G. Lyons, *Report on the Island and Temples of Philæ*, p. 29; Debôt, cf. G. Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche*, p. 6; Talmis, cf. H. Gauthier, *Le Temple de Kalabchah: Dendûr*, cf. A. M. Blackman, *The Temple of Dendûr*, p. 3; Soknopaiou Nesos, I.G.R. 1116:

Cæsareum, cf. H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, p. 35, note on P. Lond. 1912, 60 : obelisks, C.I.L. 6588 = I.G.R. 1072.

§ 13. Nikopolis, Dio Cass. li. 18 : Koptos, C.I.L. 6627 : canal, C.I.L. 12046 = I.G.R. 1055 ; I.G.R. 1056 ; cf. Stein, *Untersuchungen*, p. 66.

Tiberius. Prefects.—Æmilius Rectus and Vitrasius Pollio have been included among the prefects under Tiberius ; but as to this see Appendix I. (B).

§ 14. Reduction of garrison, Tacitus, Ann. iv. 5 : rebuke to prefect, Dio Cass. lvii. 10 : tax-collection, cf. c. vii. § 30.

§ 15. Tacitus, Ann. ii. 59–61 ; Pliny, N.H. viii. 185 : edict of Germanicus, S.B. 3924 : levies at Thebes, W. Chr. 413.

§ 16. Cf. Num. Chron. 1910, p. 333.

§ 17. Philo, adv. Flacc. 11 ; P. Boissier = W. Chr. 13.

§ 18. Philo, adv. Flacc. 5 ff.

§§ 19–20. Philo, adv. Flacc. 12 ff. ; P. Oxy. 1089.

§ 21. Philo, leg. ad Gaïum.

§ 22. P. Lond. 1912 ; Josephus, Ant. xix. 5 ; Zonaras, vi. 11.

§ 23. B.G.U. 511 + P. Cairo 10448 = W. Chr. 14. On the Alexandrian "Acts of the Martyrs" generally see v. Premerstein in *Philologus Suppl.* xvi. II. (1923), where references to earlier articles are given.

§ 24. Lesquier, p. 50.

§ 25. Pliny, N.H. vi. 84 : this suggests that the fleets mentioned by Strabo, xvii. 1. 3 (cf. § 30), were composed of Arabian ships from Aden and neighbouring ports. Roman occupation of Aden, Periplus, 26.

§ 26. Cf. W. Schur, *die Orientpolitik des K. Nero*, pp. 39 ff.

§ 27. Pliny, N.H. vi. 181 ; cf. Lesquier, p. 19 ; Schur, p. 92.

§ 28. Josephus, B.J. ii. 18. 7–8, iii. 1. 3.

§ 29. Tacitus, Hist. i. 31 ; Suetonius, Nero, 47 ; Plutarch, Galba ; Dio Cass. lxiii. 27 : coins with galley, B.M.C. 176–8 and pl. xxx. : cf. Schur, pp. 100 ff.

§ 30. Reduction of army, cf. c. ix. § 2 : coinage, *Historical Studies II.* of B.S.A. Eg. pp. 30–4 : decree of Busiris, I.G.R. 1110. The same description of Nero, as the Agathos Daimon of the world, occurs in an announcement of his accession (P. Oxy. 1021) ; but the context in the decree seems to lay special emphasis on the epithet.

CHAPTER II.

§ 1. Cf. Wilcken, *zu den Edikten* (Zeitschr. Savigny-Stift. 1921), pp. 146 ff.

§ 2. Tacitus, Hist. i. 31, ii. 6.

§ 3. Coinage of Otho, Num. Chron. 1909, p. 281 : for datings by Otho, see P. Oxy. 289, which seems to ignore Vitellius.

§ 4. Ostrakon dated by Vitellius, Lagercrantz in *Sphinx*, 1904, p. 161, no. 11.

§ 5. Tacitus, Hist. i. 79, iii. 8 ; Suetonius, Vesp. 6 ; Dio Cass. lxxv. 9.

§ 6. Tacitus, Hist. iii. 48, iv. 82; Suetonius, Vesp. 7; Dio Cass. lxvi. 1. 8.

§ 7. Dio Cass. lxvi. 8.

§ 8. Tacitus, Hist. v. 1; Josephus, B.J. iv. 11. 5; Suetonius, Tit. 5.

§ 9. Josephus, B.J. vii. 10. 1-4.

§ 10. Clearing of Agathos Daimon river, I.G.R. 1098; cf. I.G.R. 1099 of next reign: temple at Ptolemais, I.G.R. 1151: (there has been discussion, *e.g.* in Plaumann, Ptolemais, p. 94, whether the theoi Soteres referred to in this inscription were Ptolemy Soter and his wife or not, but the continuance of the worship of Alexander as founder of Alexandria till the time of Hadrian, as shown by Plaumann in Arch. Pap. vi. pp. 77 ff., is in favour of the ascription of the temple in question to Ptolemy).

Domitian. Prefects.—The sequence of prefects under Domitian has given rise to considerable discussion, the latest view being that stated by P. M. Meyer in his note on P. Hamb. 60: see Appendix I. (C).

§ 11. Juvenal, Sat. xv.; Plutarch, de Iside, 72.

§ 12. Temple at Ombos, I.G.R. 1287: at Elephantine, I.G.R. 1289: best list of nome-coins in Dattari, Numi Imp. Alexandrini, pp. 401 ff. (pl. xxxi., coins of Domitian): temples at Rome, Cassiodorus, Chron.

§ 13. Temple at Tentyra, I.G.R. 1167; earlier examples of identifications of empresses with deities, such as the representations on Alexandrian coins of Livia as Euthenia (Dattari, 107) and Messalina as Demeter (Dattari, 119 ff.; B.M.C. 69 ff.), are Greek rather than Egyptian in conception: inscription of Ptolemais, I.G.R. 1154; cf. G. Plaumann, Ptolemais, p. 91.

§ 14. P. Oxy. 471: erasure of name of Maximus, I.G.R. 1148 (the erased name is not that of Similis, but of his predecessor Maximus), 1175, 1357=C.I.L. 14148².

§ 15. Pliny, Paneg. 31-32.

§ 16. P. Oxy. 1242.

§ 17. Dio Cass. lxviii. 32; Eusebius, H.E. iv. 2; John of Nikiou, 72: correspondence of Apollonios on the war, chiefly in the Giessen papyri, *e.g.* P. Giess. 24, 27, 41=W. Chr. 15, 17, 18; also P. Brem. 40=W. Chr. 16; another reference in P. Heidelb. 36: festival at Oxyrhynchos, P. Oxy. 705=W. Chr. 153.

§ 18. Fortress of Babylon, cf. A. J. Butler, Babylon of Egypt: Leg. ii Traiana, cf. Lesquier, pp. 64 ff.

§ 19. Dio Cass. lxi. 11; Cassiodorus, Chron.; cf. W. Weber, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des K. Hadrianus, p. 51 (this treatise may be consulted in regard to all events of this reign): foundation of library of Hadrian, P. Oxy. 34=M. Chr. 188: coins, B.M.C. pl. xxix.; Dattari, pl. xxix.

§ 20. Revision of texts of the Acts of Paulus and Antoninus, cf. v. Premerstein (reference as on c. i. § 23).

§ 21. Revaluations, P. Giess. 4=W. Chr. 351, 5, 6, 7: neglect of cultivation, P. Giess. 41=W. Chr. 18.

§ 22. Hist. Aug. Hadr. 12. 1.

§ 23. Dio Cass. lxi. 11; Hist. Aug. Hadr. 14. 4.: coins, B.M.C. pl. xxvii.; Dattari, pl. vii.: dating of visit, W. Chr. 412 and notes: inscriptions on colossus, *e.g.* I.G.R. 1186, 1187, 1201.

§ 24. Dio Cass. lxi. 11; Hist. Aug. Hadr. 14. 5; (the embroidery surrounding the accounts of the death of Antinous is probably only due to the sensational journalism of the time): planning of town, Johnson in J.E.A. i. pp. 168 ff. and Kühn, Antinoopolis, pp. 20 ff.

§ 25. Road, I.G.R. 1142: raid of Agriophagoi, I.G.R. 1207.

§ 26. Patronage of Museum, Hist. Aug. Hadr. 20; Philostratus, Vit. Soph. ii. 37: coins, cf. Num. Chron. 1917, p. 38: mummy-cases, cf. Edgar, Cairo Catalogue Græco-Egyptian Coffins, p. xiv.

§ 27. B.G.U. 889.

§ 28. Coins with Phoenix, Dattari, pl. xxxii.

§ 29. Hist. Aug. Anton. 5. 5; Malala, xi. p. 280; John of Nikiou, 74: cf. Wilcken's note on B.G.U. 372=Chr. 19, Chr. p. 31.

§ 30. Dio Cass. lxxi. 4; Hist. Aug. Aurel. 21.

§ 31. Dio Cass. lxxi. 22-3; Hist. Aug. Aurel. 25; cf. G. A. Harrer, Studies in the History of the Roman Province of Syria, pp. 35 ff.: dating by Cassius, F. G. Kenyon in Arch. Pap. vi. p. 213.

§ 32. Dio Cass. lxxi. 28; Hist. Aug. Aurel. 26: inscription at Alexandria, C.I.L. 13.

§ 33. Hist. Aug. Comm. 2, 3, Cassius, 13, 6: Acts of Appianos, P. Oxy. 33=W. Chr. 20.

§ 34. Trade with China, cf. Mommsen, Rom. Prov. ii. p. 302: development of Eastern trade, cf. Schur, pp. 49 ff.: currency, cf. A.A.A. vii. p. 63.

§ 35. Extension of liturgies, cf. Oertel, die Liturgie, pp. 388 ff.; desertion of villages, cf. M. Rostovtzeff, Studien zur Geschichte des Römischen Kolonates, p. 133: returns from Mendes, P.S.I. 101-5; but see note as to this district in P. Ryl. ii. p. 291: Fayûm, cf. Rostovtzeff, A Large Estate in Egypt, p. 13: African corn-fleet, Hist. Aug. Comm. 17: letter cited, B.G.U. 417.

CHAPTER III.

§ 1. Order for accession-festival, B.G.U. 646=W. Chr. 490: latest dating, B.G.U. 46=M. Chr. 112.

§ 2. Hist. Aug. Niger, 10; Zosimus, i. 8; Eutropius, viii. 18: earliest dating, P. Oxy. 719: coins, Dattari, 3982-3 bis: cf. Harrer, Studies, pp. 78 ff.

§ 3. Hist. Aug. Severus, 8; cf. J. Hasebroek, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des K. Septimius Severus, p. 58 (useful for history of this reign generally): dating by Severus on Nov. 26, P. Oxy. 1725: by Niger on Dec. 5, P. Grenf. ii. 60.

§ 4. Dio Cass. lxxv. 13; Hist. Aug. Severus, 16: coins, J.E.A. iv. p. 180: records of buildings collected by Hasebroek, p. 123.

- § 5. Cf. c. vii. §§ 39 ff. : rescripts collected by Hasebroek, p. 119.
- § 6. Cf. Lesquier, p. 31.
- § 7. Cf. Hasebroek, p. 103 : edict of Aquila, P. Oxy. 1100 : edict of Juncinus, P. Oxy. 1408.
- § 8. Cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 55 : edict of Caracalla, P. Giess. 40=M. Chr. 377.
- § 9. Dio Cass. lxxvii. 22-3 ; Hist. Aug. Caracalla, 6 : expulsion of Egyptians, Dio Cass. lxxvii. 23. 2 ; P. Giess. 40=W. Chr. 22 ; cf. Lesquier, p. 31.
- § 10. Dio Cass. lxxviii. 35 ; it is not clear from the words of Dio what was the exact position held by Marius Secundus, but the terms suggest that he may have been *dioketes*.
- § 11. Dio Cass. lxxx. 2.
- § 12. Hist. Aug. Alex. 28. 7 : coin-type, J.E.A. iv. p. 182 : there may be a reference to the same visit in the statement of Eusebius (H.E. vi. 21) that Mamæa, when staying at Alexandria, granted an audience to Origen.
- § 13. Hist. Aug. Alex. 53 ; Herodian, vi. 4. 7 : cf. Lesquier, p. 32.
- § 14. Coins of Gordian I. and II., Dattari, 4654-70 : of Balbinus and Pupienus, 4671-90 : datings by Balbinus and Pupienus, P. Oxy. 1433 and instances quoted in introduction thereto.
- § 15. Zosimus, i. 20.
- § 16. Eusebius, H.E. vi. 41 : *libelli*, P. Oxy. 1464 and instances quoted in introduction thereto.
- § 17. Chron. Pasch. 505 ; cf. Lesquier, p. 33 : inscription from Talmis, I.G.R. 1356 (the erased names should be restored as those of Philip and his son, not of Maximin and his son).
- § 18. Cf. the discussion of the chronology of this period in the introductory note to P. Oxy. 1476 (the supposed coin of the second year of Gallus is incorrectly described) : dating by Gallus on 22 Aug. 253, P. Oxy. 1119=W. Chr. 397 : coins of Æmilian, Dattari, 5135-41 : dated papyrus, P. Oxy. 1286 (P. Ryl. 340 is of the reign of Æmilian, but has no year or month preserved).
- § 19. Papyrus of 29 Sept. 260, P. Oxy. 1476 : of 24 Nov., P. Oxy. 1411 : of 15 Feb. 261, P. Lond. 955=W. Chr. 425 : ostrakon, G.O. 1474 : cf. fuller discussion of evidence for this and next two sections in J.E.A. x. pp. 80-2.
- § 20. Hist. Aug. Gallienus 4, *Triginta Tyranni* 22 ; Eusebius, H.E. vii. 21.
- § 22. Hist. Aug. Claudius 11 ; Zosimus, i. 44. The Egyptian datings of the reign of Claudius II. are curiously involved ; cf. introduction to P. Oxy. 1476 and A. Stein in *Arch. Pap.* vii. pp. 30 ff. ; but there is no reason to suspect the accuracy of the general chronology.
- § 24. Coinage of Aurelian and Vaballathus, J.E.A. iv. 184 : for reign of Aurelian generally, cf. L. Homo, *Essai sur le règne de l'Empereur Aurélien*.
- § 25. Ammianus Marc. xxii. 16 ; Eusebius, H.E. vii. 32 ; Zosimus, i. 61.

- § 26. Hist. Aug. Aurel. 32, Firmus 3.
 § 27. Hist. Aug. Probus, 17; Zosimus, i. 71.
 § 28. There is no trace of the recognition of Florianus in Egypt : reinforcement of Egyptian legions, cf. Lesquier, p. 37.
 § 29. Instances of burden of taxation, B.G.U. 475 of 198/9 A.D.; P. Gen. 16 of 207 A.D.: unoccupied land, cf. Rostovtzeff, Large Estate, p. 14: cleansing of canals by Probus, Hist. Aug. Probus, 9; cf. W. L. Westermann in Aegyptus, i. pp. 297-301: deterioration of coinage, A.A.A. vii. p. 52: prices and wages, A. Segrè, Circolazione monetaria e prezzi, pp. 28, 42.

CHAPTER IV.

The evidence as to the prefects after Diocletian's reorganisation was collected by L. Cantarelli in *La Serie dei Prefetti di Egitto*: some additions have been made since the last part of this was published in 1913. The only other Roman officials of this period concerning whom there is sufficient information to make a list of any value are the præsides of the various divisions of the country.

- § 1. Procopius, de bello Pers. i. 19; cf. Wilcken, Grundz. p. 68.
 § 2. Malala, xii. 308; Eutropius, ix. 22, 23; John of Nikiou, 77; Theophanes, Chron. 5-6; Paulus Diac. x. 297.
 § 3. Cf. B.M.C. pp. xxv, xxvi; Wilcken, Grundz. pp. 67-8.
 § 4. Procopius, Arcan. 26. 41; Chron. Pasch. 276: on Pompey's Pillar, cf. Breccia, Alexandria, pp. 115 ff. (the name of the prefect is probably Publius; cf. note on P. Oxy. 1416, 29).
 § 5. Eusebius, H.E. viii. 8; Coptic Panegyric of Victor in Mém. Miss. Arch. Fr. viii. 2: cf. on position of emperor, Gibbon, Decline and Fall, c. xiii.; Wilcken, Grundz. p. 67.
 § 6. Lactantius, de mort. persec.; Zosimus, ii. 17; Theophanes, Chron. 9.
 § 7. Zosimus, ii. 22.
Constantine. Prefects.—The names given in the introductory chronicle of the Festal Epistles of Athanasius as those of the prefects of the year seem to be those of the prefects in office at the dates of the Epistles; and the Easter date as stated in the chronicle is added accordingly in each case. A second prefect is sometimes mentioned as having held office in the same year as the one named as prefect of the year, presumably having succeeded after Easter.
 § 8. Socrates, H.E. i. 5-9, 27-32; Sozomen, H.E. i. 15, 21, ii. 21-25; Theodoret, H.E. i. 1, 8, 25-29.
 § 9. Cf. c. viii. § 25; c. x. § 2.
 § 10. P. Oxy. 1261, 1626; cf. Wilcken in Arch. Pap. vii. p. 94.
 § 11. Socrates, H.E. i. 27; Sozomen, H.E. ii. 22; Theodoret, H.E. i. 25; Theophanes, Chron. 24.
 § 12. P. Lond. 1914.
 § 13. Socrates, H.E. ii. 3, 9-10, 15-17, 22-23; Sozomen, H.E. iii. 2, 5, 20; Theodoret, H.E. ii. 1, 3, 6; Chron. Aceph. 2; Theophanes, Chron. 30.

§ 14. Socrates, H.E. ii. 26-28; Sozomen, H.E. iv. 9-10; Theodoret, H.E. ii. 10-11; Chron. Aceph. 5.

§ 15. Ammianus Marc. xxii. 11; Socrates, H.E. iii. 2; Sozomen, H.E. v. 7; Chron. Aceph. 8.

§ 16. Julian, Epp. 10, 36, 9; Ammianus Marc. xxii. 11; Theodoret, H.E. ii. 14; Theophanes, Chron. 43.

§ 17. Julian, Epp. 51, 6; Socrates, H.E. iii. 4, 13-14; Sozomen, H.E. v. 7, 15; Theodoret, H.E. iii. 2, 5.

§ 18. Sozomen, H.E. vi. 5; Theodoret, H.E. iv. 2.

§ 19. Socrates, H.E. iv. 13, 20-24; Sozomen, H.E. vi. 12, 19-20; Theodoret, H.E. iv. 18-19; Codex Theodos. xii. 1. 63; Theophanes, Chron. 51.

§ 20. Socrates, H.E. iv. 37; Theodoret, H.E. iv. 20; Theophanes, Chron. 54.

§ 21. Treaties, Socrates, H.E. i. 19; Athanasius, Apol. i. 21; Philostorgius, iii. 4; Theadelphia, P. Thead. 16, 17, 20; cf. Jouguet *ad loc.*: edicts cited, Cod. Theod. xi. 24. 1, xii. 18. 1, xii. 1. 63; currency, cf. J.R.S. x. 184 and W. M. F. Petrie, Rise of Prices in Roman Egypt, Anc. Eg. 1922, p. 103.

CHAPTER V.

For this chapter and the next, J. B. Bury's History of the Later Roman Empire from the death of Theodosius I. to the death of Justinian (1923) is important.

Theodosius I. Prefects.—The chief sources for the list of prefects under Theodosius are of different value. The dates given by the edicts in the Codex are almost all reliable; and the fragmentary list published by Bauer agrees generally with them, subject to the correction of one year throughout. The Excerpta Barbari are, however, hopelessly confused: the names given are perhaps all authentic, but the dates assigned therein to the prefects known from other sources cannot be brought into accord with these.

§ 1. Codex Theodos. xvi. 1. 2.

§ 2. Socrates, H.E. v. 16, 17; Sozomen, H.E. vii. 15; Zosimus, iv. 37; Theophanes, Chron. 61. (It is possible that the "temple of Dionysos" mentioned was actually one of Osiris, the name used being in accordance with the traditional equation.)

§ 3. Socrates, H.E. vi. 7.

§ 4. Socrates, H.E. vii. 7.

§ 5. Eutychius, Ann. i. 548; Theophanes, Chron. 70.

§ 6. Socrates, H.E. vii. 13, 14; John of Nikiou, 84.

§ 7. Socrates, H.E. vii. 15; Theophanes, Chron. 71; Malala, 359.

§ 8. P. Leyd. Z=W. Chr. 6; Evagrius, H.E. i. 7; Coptic life of Shenute (Mém. Miss. Arch. Fr. iv.), fol. 53 r.

§ 9. Cf. Bury, Later Roman Empire, p. 237.

§ 10. Priscus, fragm. 21.

§ 12. Priscus, fragm. 22; Eutychius, Ann. ii. 96; Evagrius, H.E. ii. 5; Theophanes, Chron. 91; Zacharias Mytil. iii. 2, 11.

- § 13. Evagrius, H.E. ii. 18; Eutychius, Ann. ii. 101; Theophanes, Chron. 95; Zacharias Mytil. iv. 1, 2; Liberatus, Brev. 15.
- § 14. Theophanes, Chron. 101.
- § 15. Evagrius, H.E. iii. 4, 11, 12, 13, 22; Eutychius, Ann. ii. 105-8; Theophanes, Chron. 104, 107, 112; Zacharias Mytil. v. 4-7; Liberatus, Brev. 16, 17.
- § 16. Evagrius, H.E. iii. 23.
- § 17. Eutychius, Ann. ii. 132; P. Cairo 67009; cf. Wilcken, Grundz. p. 69.
- § 18. Nonnosus, p. 473 (Hist. Gr. Min. ed. Dindorf).
- § 19. Nonnosus, p. 473; cf. Bury, Later Roman Empire, ii. p. 324.
- § 20. Cf. M. Gelzer, Studien zur Byzantinischen Verwaltung Aegyptens, pp. 64-9; H. I. Bell, An Epoch in the Agrarian History of Egypt (Mém. Champollion); M. Rostovtzeff, Studien zur Geschichte des Römischen Kolonates, p. 133; Cod. Theod. xi. 24. 3, ix. 11. 1.
- § 21. Coptic life of Schenute (Mém. Miss. Arch. Fr. iv.), fol. 53 r, Arabic life (ibid.), p. 396; Cod. Theod. ix. 45. 2.
- § 22. Cf. c. xi. § 32; Cod. Theod. xiv. 26. 2.

CHAPTER VI.

For this period, and for the reign of Justinian in particular, Germaine Rouillard, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte Byzantine*, may be consulted with advantage.

- § 1. Nonnosus, pp. 473, 476; Procopius, Bell. Pers. i. 20; Malala, 433-4; Theophanes, Chron. 188-9.
- § 2. Eutychius, ii. 152.
- § 3. Procopius, Arcan. xxvii. 3; Zacharias Mytil. x. 1; Liberatus, Brev. 23.
- § 4. Justinian, Ed. 13; Procopius, Arcan. xxix. 1.
- § 5. Eutychius, ii. 153-6. (The precise relation of the patriarch and the prefect in the sixth century is obscure, especially as the term prefect is loosely used by the writers who are the main authorities on this period.)
- § 6. Eutychius, ii. 161-3.
- § 7. Procopius, Bell. Persic. i. 19; cf. Wilcken in Arch. Pap. i. p. 418; Bury, Later Roman Empire, ii. p. 328.
- § 8. Procopius, Ædif. vi. 2, Arcan. xxvi. 35, 40.
- § 9. Theophanes, Chron. 206-7; Paulus Diac. xvi. 471; Malala, 457-9.
- § 10. P. Cairo 67004; cf. Wilcken, Grundz. p. 69; C.I.G. iv. 8646.
- §§ 11-12. John of Nikiou, 95.
- § 13. John of Nikiou, 97.
- § 14. John of Nikiou, 107; cf. A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, c. ii. (From this point to the end of the history of Roman rule Butler's work is the best guide and cites practically all the evidence.)

- § 15. John of Nikiou, 108-9; cf. Butler, c. iii.
 § 16. Cf. H. Gelzer, *Leontios' von Neapolis leben des heiligen Johannes*, p. 129; Butler, c. v.
 §§ 17-18. Theophanes, *Chron.* 252; Severus of Ashmunên (ed. Evetts), pp. 221-2; cf. Butler, c. vii.
 § 19. Severus, p. 225; cf. Butler, p. 137 and c. xiii.
 § 20. Cf. Butler, c. xiv., and in *Athenæum*, 8 Apr. 1905.
 § 21. Eutychius, *Ann.* 297 ff.; Theophanes, *Chron.* 280-1; Al Balâdhuri, 212-3; John of Nikiou, 111-2; Severus of Ashmunên, 229; cf. Butler, cc. xv.-xvii.
 § 22. John of Nikiou, 113-5; cf. Butler, c. xviii.
 § 23. John of Nikiou, 116-8; Al Balâdhuri, 213; cf. Butler, cc. xviii.-xix.
 § 24. John of Nikiou, 119; Al Balâdhuri, 220; cf. Butler, c. xix.
 § 25. John of Nikiou, 120; cf. Butler, cc. xx.-xxi.
 § 26. John of Nikiou, 114-5; cf. Butler, cc. xxii.-xxiii.
 § 27. *Aphrodito papyri* in P. Cairo Maspero, P. Lond. vol. v. and P. Flor. vol. iii.; *Oxyrhynchos* mainly in P. Oxy. vols. i. and xvi. and P.S.I. vol. i.: cf. H. I. Bell, *The Byzantine Servile State in Egypt*, J.E.A. iv. pp. 86 ff.; G. Rouillard, *L'administration civile* p. 165.
 § 29. Cf. § 1: reform of currency, see c. xi. § 33; Justinian, Ed. 13

CHAPTER VII.

The evidence with regard to all the officials below the rank of epistrategos and its Byzantine equivalents has been so fully collected and arranged by F. Oertel in *Die Liturgie* that it is unnecessary as a rule to do more than give a reference to his work, with additions only on some special point or in regard to documents published since 1917, as a guide to this evidence. For a survey of the organisation of government generally, the clearest account is to be found in P. Jouguet, *La Vie municipale dans l'Égypte Romaine*: for the later period, M. Gelzer's *Studien zur Byzantinischen Verwaltung Aegyptens* is important. The summaries in Wilcken's *Grundzüge*, pp. 28-88, and Schubart's *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, pp. 259-76, may also be consulted generally. Certain special studies are noted below.

- § 2. Inscription of Ptolemaios, I.G.R. 1302.
 § 3. Considerations of prudence, Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 11: action of Vespasian, Tacitus, *Hist.* iii. 48: inquietude of Alexandrians, Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xxxii.: local disturbances, see c. xi. § 44; cf. Stein, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 79 ff.
 § 4. Bar against senators, Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 59: equestrian rank of officials, Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 11: sixteen-year term, Seneca, *Cons. ad Helv.* 19: (in the period of forty-five years covered by the *Introductory Chronicle* to the *Festal Epistles* of Athanasius, which presumably gives a full list of the prefects, twenty-seven holders of the office are known).

§ 5. Prohibition against voyaging on Nile, Pliny, N.H. v. 57: powers of prefect, Ulpian, Dig. i. 17. 1: appeal to emperor and control of taxation, I.G.R. 1263: judicial powers and circuits, cf. Mitteis, Grundz. pp. 25-6; Wilcken, Grundz. pp. 32-3: military powers, cf. Lesquier, L'armée Romaine, pp. 115-9: deputies, cf. Stein in Arch. Pap. iv. pp. 148 ff.

§ 6. Cf. Mitteis, Grundz. pp. 26-7.

§ 7. Dioiketes, cf. Wilcken, Grundz. p. 156; introd. to P. Oxy. 1209: idiologos, cf. G. Plaumann in Abhandl. Preuss. Akad. 1918, no. 17.

§ 8. Cf. Wilcken, Grundz. pp. 158-9.

§ 9. Cf. V. Martin, Les Epistratéges.

§ 10. (The metropolis usually gave its name to the nome, as an English county-town often does to its county; but sometimes the seat of local government was at a place other than that from which the nome was named: thus Ptolemais was the metropolis of the Thinite nome, as *e.g.* Preston is the seat of the offices of the Lancashire County Council, not Lancaster: and Ptolemais, like Preston, was independent of the jurisdiction of the officials who sat there to administer the surrounding district.) Appointment of strategoi and royal scribes, cf. J. G. Tait in J.E.A. viii. pp. 166 ff.

§ 11. Cf. Oertel, pp. 290-9, § 86.

§ 12. Cf. Oertel, pp. 168-71, § 9.

§ 13. Cf. Oertel, pp. 286-9, § 82.

§ 14. Cf. Jouguet, La Vie municipale, c. iii. pp. 202 ff.; Oertel, pp. 146-53, § 1.

§ 15. Cf. Oertel, pp. 157-60, § 3.

§ 16. Cf. Jouguet, c. iv. pp. 272 ff.; Oertel, pp. 313-6, § 97 (the theory that the magistrates of the metropoleis in the second century possessed certain communal powers, based largely on P. Oxy. 54=W. Chr. 34 of 201 A.D., requires revision in view of the fact that the visit of Severus and his reform of the system of administration are now dated to 200 A.D.; see Appendix IV.).

§ 17. Cf. Oertel, pp. 316-25, § 98.

§ 18. Cf. Oertel, pp. 325-9, § 99 (exegetes); pp. 339-43, § 105 (eutheniarch); pp. 329-32, § 100 (kosmetes); pp. 332-5, § 101 (agoranomos); pp. 335-8, § 102 (high-priest).

§ 19. Cf. Oertel, pp. 160-2, § 4 (scribe); pp. 308-9, § 91 (exetastes).

§ 20. Cf. Oertel, pp. 302-8, § 89.

§ 22. Cf. Wilcken, Grundz. pp. 45-7; P. Lond. 1912 (the terms of the letter of Claudius seem decisively in favour of the view that a senate had existed at Alexandria under the Ptolemies and was abolished by Augustus; see Appendix II.): cf. note on P. Oxy. 1412. 1 as to magistrates.

§ 23. Cf. Oertel, pp. 351-4, § 108 (hypomnematographos); pp. 354-7, § 109 (archidikastes); also Mitteis, Grundz. pp. 27-8; Strabo, xvii. 1. 12 (night-strategos); (for placing police of capital city under direct government instead of municipal or local control,

cf. organisation of police of London under Home Office instead of County Council).

§ 24. Cf. Wilcken, Grundz. p. 47.

§ 25. Cf. Plaumann, Ptolemais, pp. 70-88; Wilcken, Grundz. pp. 48-9.

§ 26. Cf. Kühn, Antinoopolis, c. ii.; Wilcken, Grundz. pp. 49-52.

§ 28. Cf. Oertel, pp. 165-8, § 8 (nomarch); pp. 162-4, § 6 (toparch); pp. 164-5, § 7 (topogrammateus).

§ 29. Cf. Oertel, pp. 178-9, § 15 (epikrites); pp. 179-80, § 16 (laographos); p. 181, § 19 (geometres); pp. 181-2, § 20 (horio-deiktes); pp. 182-3, § 21 (episkeptes).

§ 30. Cf. Oertel, pp. 195-204, § 36.

§ 31. Cf. Oertel, pp. 204-7, § 37 (apaitetes); pp. 207-8, § 38 (paralempetes); pp. 237-46, § 52 (epiteretes).

§ 32. Cf. Oertel, pp. 247-9, § 54 (trapezites); pp. 250-7, § 56 (sitologos).

§ 33. Cf. Wilcken, Grundz. pp. 413-5: late occurrence of phylakitai, P. Ryl. 213. 29.

§ 34. Cf. Oertel, pp. 275-7, § 76.

§ 35. Cf. Oertel, pp. 263-8, § 67.

§ 37. Cf. Oertel, pp. 410 ff.

§ 38. Cf. Oertel, pp. 387-99.

§ 39. Cf. c. iii. §§ 4-5; P. Oxy. 705=W. Chr. 407.

§ 40. P. Oxy. 54=W. Chr. 34: (see note on § 16 above).

§ 41. Cf. Jouguet, pp. 345 ff.; Oertel, pp. 378-82.

§ 42. Cf. Oertel, pp. 343-9, § 106 (prytanis); pp. 310-1, § 94 (syndikos); pp. 309-10, § 93 (tamias).

§ 43. Cf. Oertel, pp. 153-6, § 2: (the village-scribe, however, survived in the fifth or sixth century—see P. Oxy. 1835).

§ 44. Cf. Oertel, pp. 211-4, § 41.

§ 45. Cf. Oertel, pp. 281-3, § 79: (it should be noted that the title of the nyktostrategos is slightly altered from that of the Alexandrian official as given by Strabo).

§ 48. Cf. Wilcken, Grundz. pp. 67-8.

§§ 49-51. Cf. M. Gelzer, Studien zur Byz. Verw. Aegyptens, pp. 2-36.

§ 52. Cf. Wilcken, Grundz. pp. 162-4.

§ 53. Cf. Wilcken, Grundz. pp. 76-9.

§ 54. Cf. Oertel, pp. 299-301, § 87 (exactor); pp. 349-50, § 107 (logistes); Wilcken, Grundz. pp. 80-1, and Grenfell-Hunt-Bell, note on P. Oxy. 1883. 1. (ekdikos): on preponderance of financial considerations, cf. G. Rouillard, L'administration civile de l'Égypte Byzantine, p. 163.

§ 55. Cf. Oertel, p. 344 (propoliteuomenos); pp. 311-2, § 95 (logographos).

§ 56. Cf. Oertel, pp. 301-2, § 88 (præpositus pagi); Wilcken, Grundz. p. 84 (ephor and quadrarius); Gelzer, Studien, pp. 83-99 (pagarch).

§ 57. Cf. Oertel, pp. 214-21, § 42 (epimeletes); pp. 222-5, § 44 (hypodektes); and in general Gelzer, Studien, pp. 61-3, and in

Arch. Pap. v. pp. 370-7; Grenfell-Hunt-Bell, note on P. Oxy. 1835. 2.

§ 58. Cf. Oertel, pp. 284-6, § 81 (riparius); pp. 283-4, § 80 (eirenarch).

CHAPTER VIII.

The best general survey of taxation in Roman Egypt is still the introduction to Wilcken's *Griechische Ostraka*, in which all the evidence then available was collected and arranged. But since the publication of that work many fresh details have come to light, which have not always tended to make the system clearer. It seems probable that there were local variations in the nomenclature and incidence of taxes, as well as general modifications from time to time, which require further elucidation than is possible at present.

§ 3. Register of lands, *e.g.* P. Lond. 267=W. Chr. 234: abatements of assessment, I.G.R. 1263; cf. P. Oxy. 1434: returns of unwatered land, *e.g.* B.G.U. 139=W. Chr. 225; P. Grenf. ii. 56=W. Chr. 226: of waterlogged land, P. Hamb. 12=W. Chr. 235: of sanded land, B.G.U. 108=W. Chr. 227: inspection, P. Brem. 73=W. Chr. 238: changes of tenure, B.G.U. 457=W. Chr. 252: artaba-tax, B.G.U. 563: higher rates, P. Oxy. 1044, 1459: collection and transport, cf. M. Rostovtzeff in Arch. Pap. iii. pp. 201-24.

§ 4. Cf. Johnson-Martin-Hunt, note on P. Ryl. 192 (b), for discussion of taxes on garden-ground generally.

§ 5. Cf. Grenfell-Hunt-Goodspeed, P. Tebt. vol. ii. p. 339, App. i.

§ 6. Income from buildings, B.G.U. 41, 216, 652; P. Fay. 42ⁱⁱ; cf. Wilcken, G.O. i. p. 390: enoikion, B.G.U. 293; G.O. 292, 644, 654, 661; cf. Wilcken, G.O. i. p. 392.

§ 7. Pig-tax, cf. Johnson-Martin-Hunt, note on P. Ryl. 193. 4: sheep-tax, *e.g.* B.G.U. 41, 63, 199, 788, 810; P. Lond. 312 (Fayûm); P. Oxy. 245 (Oxyrhynchos); G.O. 1369 (Thebes): camel-tax, *e.g.* B.G.U. 41, 199, 461, 521; P. Lond. 319, 323; P. Grenf. ii. 52 (20 dr. on 10); P. Lond. 468 (irregular): ox-tax, B.G.U. 25=W. Chr. 270: returns of goats, *e.g.* B.G.U. 133; P. Oxy. 244, 350-7: tax on ass, B.G.U. 213: tax on horse, P. Hamb. 9: returns of sheep, *e.g.* P. Oxy. 246=W. Chr. 247: returns of camels, *e.g.* B.G.U. 266=W. Chr. 245; B.G.U. 358=W. Chr. 246.

§ 8. Rates at Arsinoe, B.G.U. 9=W. Chr. 293; cf. other examples collected by Wilcken in his introduction: weavers' tax, cf. Grenfell-Hunt-Goodspeed, introd. to P. Tebt. 305: tariff, P. Tebt. 287=W. Chr. 251; cf. Wilcken's introduction.

§ 9. Lease of fulling, P. Lond. 286=W. Chr. 315: individual payments, B.G.U. 337=W. Chr. 92: leases to temples, P. Lond. 286=W. Chr. 315; P. Tebt. 305; P. Amh. 119.

§ 10. Lease of goldsmithing, P. Lond. 906=W. Chr. 318: of brickmaking, P. Fay. 36=W. Chr. 316: of perfumery, P. Fay.

93=W. Chr. 317: bird-catching, P. Ryl. 99; P.S.I. 458: fishing in marshes, P. Fay. 42 (a); B.G.U. 485; P. Tebt. 329, 359: fishing on lake, B.G.U. 220, 221; P. Hamb. 6=W. Chr. 320.

§ 11. Rates at Syene and Thebes, cf. Wilcken, G.O. i. p. 230; Theban Ostraka, p. 118: at Tentyra, Arch. Pap. vi. p. 127: at Hermopolis, P. Ryl. 193: at Oxyrhynchos, cf. Grenfell-Hunt, note on P. Oxy. 1436. 8: at Memphis, P. Flor. 12: at Arsinoe, P. Lond. 261: at Tebtunis, cf. Grenfell-Hunt-Goodspeed, introd. to P. Tebt. 306: privileged classes, cf. Wilcken, Grundz. p. 189: census, cf. Wilcken, Grundz. pp. 192-6.

§ 12. Origin of crown-tax, cf. Wilcken, G.O. i. c. iv. § 118: receipts from Tentyra, Arch. Pap. vi. p. 131: from Thebes, G.O. 1376, 1556: assessments on land, Theb. Ost. 96; P. Oxy. 1441: latest payments (year 2 of Alexander), B.G.U. 452; P. Oxy. 1522: edict of Alexander (?), P. Fay. 20; cf. Wilcken in Zeitschr. Savigny-St. 1921, pp. 150 ff.: crown for Aurelian, P. Oxy. 1413.

§ 13. Instances of levies for statues collected in Wilcken, G.O. i. c. iv. § 15: cf. F. Blumenthal in Arch. Pap. v. p. 333: a payment of four drachmas towards a bronze statue and silver bust of Hadrian at Elephantine in 118, Arch. Pap. vi. p. 219.

§ 14. Cf. Lesquier, *L'armée Romaine*, pp. 350-68: payments of corn for annona, e.g. B.G.U. 336, 529, 534=W. Chr. 191; G.O. 1016, 1019; Theb. Ost. 102: chaff, examples in Wilcken, G.O. i. c. iv. § 21; Theb. Ost. 103, 104, 108, 109, 112: requisitions, B.G.U. 807; P. Grenf. i. 48=W. Chr. 416; P. Amh. 107=W. Chr. 417, 108, 109=W. Chr. 418; P. Ryl. 85; cf. Wilcken in Arch. Pap. i. p. 177: clothing, P. Ryl. 189; P. Leipz. 57; cf. Lesquier, pp. 368-9: hides, P.S.I. 465.

§ 15. Requisition of animals, cf. Oertel pp. 90-1; Lesquier, pp. 369-75: orders to strategoi, P. Flor. 278: payment for maintenance, P. Bas. 2.

§ 16. Exactions of troops, cf. Oertel, pp. 91-3: edicts of prefects, P. Lond. 1171^v=W. Chr. 439; I.G.R. 1262: list of people liable, P. Lond. 1159=W. Chr. 415: imperial visits, W. Chr. 412 (Hadrian), 413 (Germanicus).

§ 17. Strabo, xvii. 1. 13; P. Oxy. 36=W. Chr. 273; cf. Wilcken in Arch. Pap. iii. pp. 185-200.

§ 18. Strabo, xvii. 1. 16 (Schedia), 41 (Hermopolis): G.O. 43=W. Chr. 291 (Syene): G.O. 80=W. Chr. 292 (Hermonthis): I.G.R. 1183 (Koptos): P. Amh. 77=W. Chr. 277; cf. Johnson-Martin-Hunt, intr. to P. Ryl. 197 (Fayûm): cf. Wilcken, G.O. i. c. iv. § 99 (river-guards), § 89 (harbour-guards).

§ 19. Enkyklion, cf. Grenfell-Hunt, introd. to P. Tebt. 350 and introd. to P. Oxy. 1284: on land of katoikoi, P. Oxy. 1462, 1472; cf. Wilcken, Grundz. p. 305: on mortgages, P. Oxy. 243=M. Chr. 182: manumissions, e.g. B.G.U. 96, 326²=M. Chr. 316, 388=M. Chr. 91: inheritances, e.g. B.G.U. 240, 326²=M. Chr. 316: tax at Tentyra, Arch. Pap. vi. p. 131: on sales, G.O. 1056, 1076: fees, e.g. B.G.U. 567, 568.

§ 20. Cf. Oertel, pp. 63-82 (list of Fayûm quittances pp. 64-9,

of Theban pp. 76-7): alternative work and composition, Arch. vi. pp. 129, 133.

§ 21. Cf. Oertel, pp. 387-405: flight from liturgies, *e.g.* P. Gen. 37=W. Chr. 400; B.G.U. 159=W. Chr. 408: trust for relief, P. Oxy. 705=W. Chr. 407.

§ 22. Thmuis returns, P.S.I. 106; P. Ryl. 213; cf. Johnson-Martin-Hunt, introd. to latter: Fayûm, P. Ryl. 191 and instances in introd.: epistrategos, cf. V. Martin, *Les Épistratèges*, p. 137: royal scribe, cf. E. Biedermann, *Der basilikos grammateus: vicarius, etc.*, P. Oxy. 1436.

§ 23. Bath-tax, cf. Theban Ostraka, p. 100 (Thebes); Arch. Pap. vi. p. 128 (Tentyra) (this rate seems extraordinarily high, but may have been due to some special local circumstances: for instance, heavy capital charges for building baths may have been incurred, which fell to be paid off over a term of years: the group of ostraka under discussion belongs to a period of just over thirty years, which would not be an excessive one for the repayment of a loan under modern conditions); P. Fay. 46, ostr. 2-4; B.G.U. 362=W. Chr. 96 (Fayûm): market-tax, Arch. Pap. vi. p. 130.

§ 24. Water-rate, P. Lond. 1177=W. Chr. 193: octroi, P. Lond. 856=W. Chr. 274.

§ 25. Cf. c. x. § 2 on treasury arrangements for sacred taxes (which offer some parallels to the English Ecclesiastical Commission: see Appendix III.): syntaximon, P. Tebt. 349 (and instances cited in introd. to it); P. Ryl. 190, 191: hieratic taxes, P. Ryl. 213 (cf. introd.): two-drachmas of Souchos, P. Tebt. 281=W. Chr. 289 (cf. introd.): partial confiscation of temple-land, P. Tebt. 302=W. Chr. 368; B.G.U. 1200; cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* pp. 300-2 (parallel to option given by Ecclesiastical Commissioners to Chapters to retain lands or receive fixed money payment: see Appendix III.).

§ 26. Cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* pp. 287 ff.: quarries and mines, K. Fitzler, *Steinbrüche u. Bergwerke*, pp. 87 ff.

§ 28. Cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 224: diatyposeis, P. Leipz. 64=W. Chr. 281; P. Leipz. 63: commencement of indictions, cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 223.

§ 29. Embole, cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 220: donations for Alexandria, P. Oxy. 1906 (cf. Grenfell-Hunt-Bell, note on ll. 1-2).

§ 30. *E.g.* P. Oxy. 1887, 1907, 1909.

§ 31. P. Leipz. 64=W. Chr. 281; cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 221.

§ 32. Clothing, P. Oxy. 1905; cf. examples cited by Grenfell-Hunt-Bell in notes; Cod. Theodos. vii. 6. 3: supplies in kind, P. Oxy. 1902, 1920, 2004, 2046.

§ 33. P. Oxy. 1907 (cf. Grenfell-Hunt-Bell, note on l. 8), 1999, 2009.

CHAPTER IX.

The account of the Roman army in Egypt from the time of Augustus to that of Diocletian which is given by J. Lesquier in *L'armée Romaine d'Égypte* is very complete, and hardly any

fresh information of importance has come to light since the publication of this work. For the last two centuries of Roman rule Jean Maspero's study entitled *Organisation militaire de l'Égypte Byzantine* is equally valuable. With regard to the period between those covered by the two books mentioned there is little documentary evidence.

§ 1. Strabo, xvii. 1. 12, 30.

§§ 2-5. Cf. Lesquier, pp. 101-4.

§ 6. Cf. Lesquier, pp. 73-96.

§ 7. P. Oxy. 43^R.

§ 8. Cf. Maspero, pp. 69-79.

§ 9. Cf. Lesquier, pp. 98-101; Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, p. 213.

§ 10. Cf. Lesquier, pp. 205-16; Maspero, pp. 43-68.

§ 11. See c. i. §§ 5, 8, 9; c. ii. §§ 8, 17, 30; c. iii. §§ 22, 27; c. iv. § 1; c. v. §§ 8, 17; c. vi. §§ 17, 21-6.

§ 12. Cf. Lesquier, pp. 227-48.

§ 13. Cf. Lesquier, pp. 383-475.

§ 14. Cf. Maspero, pp. 17-42.

§ 15. Cf. Maspero, pp. 114-32.

CHAPTER X.

For a general survey of the religious ideas of the period A. Erman, *Aegyptische Religion* (English translation by A. S. Griffith), is the best guide. The two volumes of W. Otto, *Priester u. Tempel im Hellenistischen Aegypten*, are specially important for a study of the organisation of the various worships in the country. The evidence as to the Alexandrian triad is stated rather more fully in the article on Græco-Egyptian religion in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

The sources of information with regard to the religious history of the first three centuries are fairly full in some ways and scanty in others. The accounts of contemporary writers are not very helpful—the Romans generally viewed Egyptian ideas with scorn, and the Greeks who treated the subject had no critical appreciation and little first-hand knowledge of Egyptian theology: the early Christian Fathers are more valuable, if due allowance is made for their bias. On the organisation of the provincial temples and the cults of the Hellenised middle class of the country towns there is a great deal of light thrown by the papyri: these also deal to a lesser extent with the relations of the State to the local deities, on which some further information can be derived from inscriptions: but there is very little to be gathered from these sources as to the native worship of the lower classes. Funerary stelæ and the cheaper types of monuments, such as terra-cotta statuettes (on which W. Weber, *Die Aegyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten*, is very useful), are practically the main guides in the investigation of the survivals of Egyptian cults. The coin-types, which include many religious subjects, are purely Alex-

andrian—that is, completely Hellenised—in their conceptions of the gods; and the seal-types are also for the most part influenced by Greek ideas.

§ 2. Cf. Otto, ii. pp. 276–8; Wilcken, *Grundz.* pp. 113–4, on attitude of Romans: action of Augustus, see c. i. § 11, c. viii. § 25: cf. Appendix III.

§ 3. Gnomon of idiologos, B.G.U. v. 1: inspection of temples, P. Tebt. 315=W. Chr. 71: monthly reports, P. Stud. Pal. xx. 33=W. Chr. 72: yearly returns, P. Tebt. 298=W. Chr. 90; B.G.U. 162=W. Chr. 91: circumcision, P. Tebt. 292=W. Chr. 74; P. Tebt. 293=W. Chr. 75; B.G.U. 347=W. Chr. 76: sale of posts, P. Tebt. 294=W. Chr. 78; P. Tebt. 296=W. Chr. 79; P. Par.=W. Chr. 81.

§ 4. Colleges of priests, cf. Otto, i. pp. 44–52: changes in 200, cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* pp. 128–9: chief-priests, B.G.U. 362=W. Chr. 96 (Arsinoe); P. Gen. 36=W. Chr. 85 (Memphis); P. Lond. 921 (Tauais); P. Tebt. 313=W. Chr. 86 (Heliopolis): syntaxis, see c. viii. § 25: temple-accounts, B.G.U. 1+337=W. Chr. 92; B.G.U. 149=W. Chr. 93: altar-tax, *e.g.* B.G.U. 199, 292: tax on offerings, *e.g.* P. Tebt. 307: poll-tax, *e.g.* P. Lond. 347; P. Tebt. 298=W. Chr. 90.

§ 5. Cf. Otto, i. pp. 75–113 (classes of priests), pp. 203–51 (appointments): regulations as to prophet, Gnomon 77, 78, 79: sale of post, P. Tebt. 294=W. Chr. 78; P. Tebt. 295: post of stolistes, Gnomon 80: fee, P. Tebt. 298=W. Chr. 90: salary, Gnomon 74: sealers of calves, Gnomon 87; B.G.U. 250=W. Chr. 87; P. Gen. 32: feather-bearer, P. Tebt. 298=W. Chr. 90: scribes, *e.g.* B.G.U. 82, 347=W. Chr. 76: observers, cf. Otto, i. p. 89: examination of priests, *e.g.* P. Tebt. 291=W. Chr. 137: allowances, Gnomon 90; B.G.U. 1195.

§ 6. Pastophoroi, Gnomon 82, 94, 83: buriers of animals, Gnomon 93: mummifiers, cf. Otto, i. p. 108.

§ 7. Rules as to dress, Gnomon 75, 76; B.G.U. 16=W. Chr. 114: staff at Tebtunis, P. Tebt. 298=W. Chr. 90: permission to borrow, Gnomon 85.

§ 8. Sobk at Akoris, I.G.R. 1132, 1133, 1134, 1136; [at Pathyris Ptolemaic]; at Silsilis, I.G.R. 1276: temple at Arsinoe, C.P.R. 206, 223: Soknebtunis, *e.g.* P. Tebt. 294=W. Chr. 78; P. Tebt. 295, 302=W. Chr. 368: Soknopaïos, *e.g.* B.G.U. 1=W. Chr. 92; B.G.U. 149=W. Chr. 93; I.G.R. 1116; P. Ryl. 161: Sokopichonsis, B.G.U. 1063: Sokonokonnis, P. Fay. 137=W. Chr. 121: Sokonpiaïis, B.G.U. 296; P. Lond. 353: Petesouchos, B.G.U. 707; I.G.R. 1119, 1120: Phemnoeris, B.G.U. 471: Pnepheros, B.G.U. 707; I.G.R. 1119, 1120: hawk-headed Soknopaïos, Cairo Cat. Greek Inscriptions, pl. i. no. 9202: sacred crocodile at Arsinoe, Strabo xvii. 1. 38 [cf. P. Tebt. 33 for Ptolemaic times]: equation with Kronos, see references for Soknebtunis above.

§ 9. Thoeris, *e.g.* P. Oxy. 46, 47, 241, 242: temple, P. Oxy. 43^v=W. Chr. 474, 1028; P.S.I. 175, 339: Athene-Thoeris,

P. Oxy. 579, 1117: nome-coins, Dattari, pl. xxxiii. 6333, 6334, pl. xxxvi. 6340: leaden tokens, Num. Chron. 1908, p. 296.

§ 10. Terra-cotta statuettes of Bes, cf. Weber, *Aeg.-gr. Terra-kotten*: temple-treasures of S.N., B.G.U. 387²: Bes at Abydos, Ammianus Marc. xix. 12. 3: graffiti, P.S.B.A. x. 379 ff.: at Memphis, cf. J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* 1905/6 pp. 12-14.

§ 11. Mandoulis, I.G.R. 1332-54: Srouptichis and Poursep-moneus, Roeder, *Debôd*, pp. 130-2: Pautnuphis, I.G.R. 1358: Nephotes, I.G.R. 1279.

§ 12. Linen for funerals, Gnomon, § 89; P. Gen. 36=W. Chr. 85 (Apis); P. Tebt. 313=W. Chr. 86 (Mnevis): visits of Germanicus and Titus, see c. i. § 15, c. ii. § 8: tourists, Strabo, xvii. 1. 31 (Apis), 27 (Mnevis): animal-types on coins, Dattari, pls. xxxi. xxxii.: on nome-coins, pl. xxxv.

§ 13. Nilus-types, Dattari, pls. xix. xx.: Euthenia-types, Dattari, pl. xiii.: festivals, B.G.U. 362=W. Chr. 96; P. Oxy. 519=W. Chr. 492: Chonsis and Mendes, B.G.U. 1202: Mestasutmis, P. Lond. 1282: Pakusis, Cairo Cat. Demot. Inschr. 1191: Tithoes, I.G.R. 1185: Thriphis, I.G.R. 1148, 1150.

§ 15. Artemis, dedication, C.M.A. 111; coin-types, Dattari, pl. ix. 1288, 1615, 2154: Boubastis, C.M.A. 121 (Alexandria); B.G.U. 820; C.P.R. 178; Ann. Serv. x. p. 158 (Arsinoe); P. Ryl. 277 (Hermopolis): Ptah-Hephaistos, coin-type, Dattari, pl. xxi. 1448: Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, coin-type, Dattari, pl. xxi. 1445; monuments, e.g. Cairo Cat. Stelæ 31095.

§ 16. Hera, I.G.R. 1134, 1289: Kronos, I.G.R. 1172: Ares, P. Oxy. 984; B.G.U. 1158=M. Chr. 234: coin-types, Dattari, pl. ix.; of Sebennyte nome, Dattari, pl. xxxiii. 6377, xxxiv. 6378, xxxvi. 6383.

§ 17. (The process of equation might be pursued almost indefinitely from Hermes-Herakles and Helios-Hermanubis, as Herakles and Helios in turn had both been linked with other gods, Harpokrates and Sarapis, and these with Apollo and Zeus, and so on.) Hermaion at Hermopolis, P. Strasb. 33; P. Flor. 50: Thotoperios, P. Ryl. 110: Hermaion at Arsinoe, C.P.R. 230; P. Flor. 44: dedication to Hermanubis (Roman?), C.M.A. 120: to Anubis, C.P.R. 78 (Herakleopolis); I.G.R. 1269 (near Gebelên); C.M.A. 118 (Boubastis); C.M.A. 119 (Alexandria): coin-types, Hermanubis, Dattari, pl. xvi.: Helios-Hermanubis, Dattari, pl. xvi. 4118: grave-stelæ, e.g. Cairo Cat. Greek Sculpture, pl. xi. 9208-11, 9215, 9221: magic, P. Lond. 122: Hermes Trismegistus, cf. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, p. 58.

§ 18. Dedication from Ombos, I.G.R. 1286: from Senskis, I.G.R. 1274.

§ 19. Amonrasonthor, I.G.R. 1209: Zeus Helios Ammon, I.G.R. 1205: Zeus Helios, I.G.R. 1184: Zeus Helios Sarapis, I.G.R. 1048, 1049, 1050, 1092, 1093, 1254, 1255; C.M.A. 97, 100; P. Oxy. 1149; etc.: Jupiter Ammon Chnoubis, C.I.L. 75: Ammon, I.G.R. 1128-34.

§ 20. Athene at Sais, coin-types, Dattari, pl. xxxiii. 6362, xxxiv. 6367, xxxv. 6370, xxxvi. 6371; inscription, C.M.A. 112.

§ 21. (The panegyric of Imhotep-Asklepios in P. Oxy. 1381 is hardly to be taken as evidence for the Roman period: it is probably drawn from earlier sources, even though these may not have been as ancient as the writer professes.) Deir-el-bahri, cf. J.E.A. i. 96-98: Ptolemais, I.G.R. 1154 (Ptolemais, however, preserved the Greek traditions of its founders with special solicitude): Pan, graffiti, *e.g.* I.G.R. 1235, 1237, 1240, 1244 (Wadi-Hammamat), 1261 (Laqîtah), 1152 (quarries); dedications, I.G.R. 1171 (Koptos), 1148 (Panopolis): Aphrodite-Hathor, dedications, I.G.R. 1164; Cairo Cat. Demot. Inscr. 31092-3 (Tentyra); I.G.R. 1287 (Ombos); figurines, B.G.U. 717; C.P.R. 22, 27=M. Chr. 289; P. Oxy. 921; statues, Cairo Cat. Greek Sculpture 27452-27460 and pl. vi., Greek inscriptions 9305 and pl. iv.

§ 22. Coin-types, Poseidon, Dattari, pl. xxi.; Kybele, pl. xvii.; Artemis, pl. ix; Triptolemos, pl. xxiv. 1849; Dionysos, pl. xii. 849; Persephone, pl. xxi. 1018; Milesian Apollo, pl. ix. 2136, 2137, 2452; Zeus of Olympia, pl. xxv. 256; Zeus of Nemea, pl. xxv. 259; Hera of Argos, pl. xiii. 236; Poseidon of Isthmus, pl. xxi. 243; Apollo of Delphi, pl. ix. 209; Apollo of Actium, pl. ix. 207.

§ 23. Worshippers of Apollo at Hermopolis, P. Giess. 99: inventory of temple-property, P. Oxy. 1449: Dioskouroi, at Akoris, I.G.R. 1129; at Ptolemais, cf. Plaumann, Ptolemais, p. 94 (but see note on c. ii. § 10); at Oxyrhynchos, P. Oxy. 254; at Hermopolis, P. Ryl. 207 (a); at Soknopaiou Nesos, I.G.R. 1115; at Bacchias, P. Fay. 138=W. Chr. 95; shrine at Hermopolis (?), P. Giess. 20=W. Chr. 94.

§ 24. Demeter at Oxyrhynchos, P. Giess. 49; in Fayûm, B.G.U. 471, 593, 601.

§ 25. On early history of Sarapis worship, cf. Wilcken, Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit, i. 1.

§ 26. Remains of temple at Alexandria, cf. Breccia, Alexandria, pp. 110-9: neokoros, cf. Otto, i. 113, note 3: Osiris Apis at Memphis, *e.g.* Cairo Cat. Demot. Denkm. 23182: stelæ from Abydos, *e.g.* Cairo Cat. Demot. Inscr. 31084, 31091, Greek Inscr. 9208-11.

§ 27. Aristides, xlv. 32: temple at Oxyrhynchos, P. Oxy. 43^v. 7: temples in villages, *e.g.* B.G.U. 1201 (Busiris in Herakleopolite nome); P. Flor. 370 (Tertembeuthis); I.G.R. 1255 (Mons Claudianus); I.G.R. 1274 (Senskis): pantheistic type, Dattari, pl. xxiv. 2380, 2868, 3385: Julian, Or. iv.

§ 28. Sarapis Polieus, I.G.R. 1102; Ann. Serv. 1907, 49: serpent-type, Dattari, pl. xxii. 1827, 3517: invocations in letters, *e.g.* B.G.U. 276, 332; P. Fay. 127; P. Amh. 136: seal-rings, cf. J.H.S. xxvi. 39 ff.: dinners at temple, P. Oxy. 110=W. Chr. 99.

§ 29. Bronzes of Isis-Aphrodite, Cairo Cat. Greek Bronzes, 27652-4: separation of Isis and Hathor, Cairo Cat. Demot.

Inschr. 31092-3: invocation of Isis, P. Oxy. 1380: continuation of worship at Philæ, cf. Wilcken in Arch. Pap. i. 396 ff.

§ 30. Epithets of Isis not in P. Oxy. 1380, Neferses (Fayûm), B.G.U. 1=W. Chr. 92, 296; P. Lond. 353; etc.; Nefremmis (Fayûm), B.G.U. 296, 337=W. Chr. 92, 916, etc.; Ophis (Hermopolis), P. Amh. 128; Rhesakemis (Gebelên), I.G.R. 1271; Pathyra (Gebelên), I.G.R. 1268: coin-types, Isis Pharia, Dattari, pl. xvii. 1756, 1767; Isis Sothis, Dattari, pl. xvii. 929, 2681.

§ 31. Harpokrates on ram, *e.g.* Weber, Terrakotten, pl. 8, 94; with body of crocodile, Dattari, pl. xxxiv. 6309, pl. xxxvi. 6318; with goose, Weber, pl. 9, 97-101: Herakles-Harpokrates, Dattari, pl. xxxiv. 6254; B.S.A.A. 1909, p. 343, no. 29.

§ 32. Seal-rings, cf. J.H.S. xxvi. 41 ff.; C. C. Edgar, Clay-sealings from Thmuis, Ann. Serv. viii. 154-7.

§ 33. Osiris at Abydos, Strabo, xvii. 1. 44: Greek formula of entreaty, C.M.A. 332, 341: magical, *e.g.* P. Lond. 121 *passim*: worship of Egyptian gods outside Egypt, cf. G. Lafaye, Hist. du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie hors de l'Égypte; A. Rusch, de Sarapide et Iside in Græcia cultis; F. Cumont, The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism, pp. 73-102.

§ 34. Horus in late magic, cf. Zeitschr. Aeg. xxxii. 47 ff.

§ 35. Latin inscriptions, C.I.L. 75, 14135, 79: workshops of soldiers, cf. Lesquier, pp. 279-89: altar at Koptos, I.G.R. 1169.

§ 36. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, B.G.U. 362=W. Chr. 96: temples of Emperors, cf. Blumenthal in Arch. Pap. v. 317 (also priests of Tiberius and Gaius at Euhemereia, P. Ryl. 132, 133, 149): Augustus as Zeus Eleutherios, I.G.R. 1117, 1163, 1206, 1295; P. Oxy. 240, 253: Nero as Agathos Daimon, I.G.R. 1110; P. Oxy. 1021=W. Chr. 113: temple of new Aphrodite, I.G.R. 1167: empresses as goddesses, Dattari, pl. viii. 119 (Messalina as Demeter), 431 (Domitia as Euthenia), 2062 (Sabina as Demeter), 2102 (Faustina as Eusebeia): petition laid at feet of statues, C.P.R. 20²=W. Chr. 402; cf. Blumenthal, p. 335: dedications to genius of emperor, C.I.L. 6024, 6578, 6580, 6581, 14147; cf. Blumenthal p. 329.

§ 37. Cult of Roma, cf. Otto, i. 170: Roma on coins, Dattari, pl. xxi.: feast at Arsinoe, B.G.U. 362=W. Chr. 96: Tychaion at Alexandria, Dattari, pl. xxx. 3062: temple of Nemesis, I.G.R. 1047: temples at Arsinoe, B.G.U. 9=W. Chr. 293.

§ 38. Jews, cf. H. I. Bell, Jews and Christians in Egypt, pp. 10 ff.: (Jewish synagogue at Oxyrhynchos in 291, P. Oxy. 1205): Therapeutai, Philo, de Vitâ Contemplativâ: influence of desert, cf. Schubart, Aegypten, p. 368.

§ 39. For early history of Christianity of Egypt cf. A. von Harnack, die Mission u. Ausbreitung des Christentums (ed. 4), ii. pp. 705-27: catechetical School a rival of Museum, cf. Wilcken, Grundz. 130.

§ 40. Persecution under Severus, Eusebius, H.E. vi. 1: under Decius, *ib.* vi. 40: certificates of sacrifice, B.G.U. 287=W. Chr.

124; P. Oxy. 1464 and instances quoted in introduction thereto: persecution under Valerian, Eusebius, H.E. vii. 11.

§ 41. Earliest Christian letter, P. Amh. 3a=W. Chr. 126: Christian texts, cf. list in Schubart, Einführung, pp. 473-5: church of Al Mu'allakah, Butler, Coptic Churches, i. 228: churches at Oxyrhynchos, P. Oxy. 43^v=W. Chr. 474: persecution under Diocletian, Eusebius, H.E. viii. 8.

§ 42. Murder of Hypatia, Socrates, H.E. vii. 5: Macarius, Mém. Miss. Arch. Fr. iv. Panegyric of Macarius, 130 f.: Schenute, *ib.*, Coptic life, foll. 50 v, 65 v, Arabic life, pp. 385, 386, 387, 425, fragment 5 B col. 2.

§ 43. Edict of Theodosius, cf. c. v. § 2: treaty of Maximinus, cf. c. v. § 10.

§ 44. Dispute of Constans and Constantius, cf. c. iv. § 13: patriarchs of Justinian, cf. c. vi. § 5.

§ 46. Christian borrowing of pagan types, cf. W. M. F. Petrie, Religion and Conscience, p. 46.

§ 47. Cf. Bury, Later Roman Empire, p. 283: Cod. Theod. v. 3, xii. 1. 63.

§ 48. Rufinus, Hist. Monach. c. v. 141-2: Monastery of Babylon, cf. Butler, Coptic Churches, i. c. 4: Life of Schenute, Mém. Miss. Arch. Fr. iv. p. 396: monastery of Sinai, cf. c. vi. § 6.

§ 49. On origins of Egyptian magic, cf. R. Reitzenstein, Poimandres, pp. 117 ff.: Oxyrhynchos formulary, P. Oxy. 856: magical miscellanies, P. Lond. 46, 121: pagan and Christian amulets, Wilcken in Arch. Pap. i. 419: conjunctions of pagan and Christian names, P. Oxy. 1060; Zeitschr. Aeg. xxxii. 47. (A selection of amulets in Reitzenstein, Poimandres, App. iii. pp. 291-303.) Revised texts of the chief Græco-Egyptian magical papyri have been published by S. Eitrem: see list in J.E.A. x. 156.

§ 50. Oracles, P. Fay. 137=W. Chr. 121; P. Fay. 138=W. Chr. 95; P. Oxy. 925=W. Chr. 132: gnostic charm, P. Oxy. 1478: amulet, P. Oxy. 1077: prayer for healing, B.G.U. 954=W. Chr. 133.

CHAPTER XI.

A most vivid and complete study of the life of Egypt in the Græco-Roman period is given in Schubart's *Aegypten von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf Mohammed*, which should be consulted on all points, though the plan of the work makes it difficult to give precise references here.

§ 2. Strabo, xvii. i. 8-10: existing remains, cf. Breccia, Alexandria, pp. 86-119: temples as coin-types, Dattari, pls. xxix. xxx.: temples of Egyptian style, Dattari, pl. xxx. 1161, 1972 (Isis); 1167, 3568, 3569 (Canopi); xxix. 1134 (Harpokrates); B.M.C. pl. xxviii. 1197 (Hermanubis); Dattari, pl. xxix. 3045 (Isis the mother); 1132, 1949, 3798 (Canopi); 1968 (Griffin); 1158 (sacred bark); Pharos, Dattari, pl. xxviii. 553, 1111, 1933, 3216; cf. Breccia, Alexandria, p. 109.

§ 3. Antinoopolis, cf. J. de M. Johnson, *Antinoe and its papyri*, J.E.A. i. pp. 168 ff.; E. Kühn, *Antinoopolis*, c. i. § 2: numbered quarters of town, P. Rein. 49=W. Chr. 207: villages of Fayûm, cf. Grenfell-Hunt-Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns*, p. 21; Schubart, *Einführung*, p. 437: haphazard laying-out, P. Ryl. 233.

§ 4. Buildings of Oxyrhynchos, P. Oxy. 43^v=W. Chr. 474: (the "north" and "south" churches seemingly had no dedication either when this list was compiled or in 535 A.D.; cf. P. Oxy. 1357).

§ 5. Architectural style of gymnasia, cf. scene in gymnasium, Breccia, Alexandria, p. 280, fig. 196: remains from Alexandria, *ib.* pp. 201-3, figs. 103-6: village-temples, *ib.* pp. 284-5, fig. 198; Grenfell-Hunt-Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns*, pp. 30-2, 36-8, 45, pls. ii. iii. x.: Byzantine capitals, cf. Breccia, p. 289, fig. 200: from Ahnas, E.E.F. *Memoir Ahnas-el-Medineh*, pls. xiv.-xvii.: Kôm-el-Shugafa, Breccia, pp. 317-28.

§ 6. Statues of Kôm-el-Shugafa, Breccia, p. 321, fig. 244: letter of Julian, Ep. 58: Alexandrian portraits, Breccia, p. 189, fig. 96, p. 220, fig. 112: plaster busts, *ib.* p. 183, figs. 91, 92: Kôm-el-Khanziri head, *ib.* p. 217, fig. 111.

§ 7. Grave-stelæ (Delta), Cairo Cat. Grk. Inscriptions, pl. viii. 9250, ix. 9251, 9212; cf. Edgar, *Grk. Sculpture*, pp. xi ff.; (Saqqara), Grk. Inscriptions, pl. x. 9213; (Abydos), Grk. Inscriptions, pl. xi.

§ 8. Dimeh statues, Breccia, p. 171, fig. 77; Cairo Cat. Grk. Sculpture, pl. xv. 27492: statues of emperors, cf. c. viii. § 13: list of temple-property, P. Oxy. 1449 (cf. B.G.U. 362=W. Chr. 96 from Arsinoe): statues of Caracalla, figs. 54, 139 (there are even worse heads of Caracalla than these in the Alexandria Museum): relief of Antoninus Pius, Cairo Cat. Grk. Sculpture, pl. xxvi. 27568: receipts for statues, P.S.I. 204.

§ 9. Transitional reliefs, Cairo Cat. Grk. Sculpture, pls. xxv. 27570, 27573, xxvii. 27572 (Antaios-relief), xxviii. 27574: porphyry figure from Alexandria, Cairo Cat. Kopt. Kunst, 7256: bust from Athribis, *ib.* 7257: cf. on porphyry figures and sarcophagi, O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archæology*, pp. 126-7, 131-2.

§ 10. On Coptic art, cf. Strzygowski's introduction to Cairo Cat. Kopt. Kunst: pagan subjects, *ib.* 7279 (Leda), 7280 (Nereid), 7281 (Herakles and lion), 7287 (Orpheus), 7292b (Pan).

§ 11. Coppersmiths of Oxyrhynchos, P. Oxy. 85: goldsmiths of Euhemereia, P. Lond. 906=W. Chr. 318: inventories of temple-property, B.G.U. 162=W. Chr. 91; P. Oxy. 1449: bronze objects of Roman period, cf. Edgar's introduction to Cairo Cat. Grk. Bronzes: Coptic reliefs from Panopolis, Cairo Cat. Kopt. Kunst, 9037, 9038.

§ 12. Cf. Strzygowski, *Alexandrinische Beinschnitzereien*, B.S.A.A. v. 3: bone-carvings from Alexandria, Breccia, pp. 290-1, figs. 201-4: throne of Maximian, cf. E. Baldwin Smith, *The Alexandrian origin of the chair of Maximianus*, A.J.A. 1917, pp. 22-37: casket from Saqqara, Cairo Cat. Kopt. Kunst, 7060-4.

§ 13. Mural paintings, cf. Dalton, *Byzantine Art*, pp. 282-9; M. Rostovtzeff, *Ancient decorative Wall-painting*, J.H.S. xxxix. pp. 144-63; also Breccia, p. 282 (Mareotis); J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 1906/7*, pls. xli.-lx. (Apa Jeremias): Coffin portraits, cf. Edgar's introduction to *Cairo Cat. Gr.-Eg. coffins*; Breccia, pp. 242-4.

§ 14. Plaster masks, cf. Edgar, *l.c.*: on portraiture, W. M. F. Petrie, *Arts and Crafts in Ancient Egypt*, p. 146 and fig. 138: terra-cottas, cf. W. Weber, *die Aeg.-Griechischen Terrakotten*; Breccia pp. 257-68.

§ 15. Mosaics, cf. Breccia, pp. 244-5 (Thmuis), p. 269, fig. 178: seal-rings, cf. Clay-sealings from the Fayûm, J.H.S. xxvi. pp. 32-45; C. C. Edgar, *Clay-sealings from Thmuis*, *Ann. Serv.* viii. 154-7: Alexandrian mint, cf. J.E.A. iv. pp. 177-8: types of Roman pottery, Grenfell-Hunt-Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns*, pls. xii.-xiv.: Coptic painted ware, figs. 148, 149.

§ 16. Elementary education, cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* pp. 136-8; P. Beudel, *qua ratione Græci liberos docuerint*; J.H.S. xliii. pp. 40-3: epitomes, etc., of Homer, list in Schubart, *Einführung*, p. 480: gnomic poets, cf. J.E.A. viii. pp. 156-7: Coptic texts, e.g. Theban Ostraka, Coptic 45, 46: paidagogoi, P. Oxy. 930 = W. Chr. 138: ephebic instruction, cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* pp. 140-3: admission of ephebes, e.g. P. Flor. 57 = W. Chr. 143; P. Oxy. 477 = W. Chr. 144; P. Flor. 79 = W. Chr. 145: assault-at-arms, P. Oxy. 42 = W. Chr. 154: prizes, P. Oxy. 705 = W. Chr. 153.

§ 17. Technical instruction, P. Oxy. 724 = W. Chr. 140 (short-hand); B.G.U. 1125 (flute-playing).

§ 18. Museum, cf. Breccia, pp. 45-7: member of Museum at Antinoopolis, J.E.A. i. p. 181: in Arsinoite nome, P. Ryl. 143: catechetical school, see c. x. § 39.

§ 19. Library of Alexandria, cf. Breccia, pp. 47-52; Butler, *Arab Conquest*, c. xxv.: collections of books, cf. F. G. Kenyon, *The Library of a Greek of Oxyrhynchos*, J.E.A. viii. pp. 129-38; catalogue from Memphis, W. Chr. 155.

§ 20. Alexandrian literature, cf. Schubart, *Einführung*, pp. 377 ff.: quotation from Homer, P. Flor. 259: Dioskoros, cf. H. I. Bell, *Hellenic Culture in Egypt*, J.E.A. viii. p. 154: specimen quoted, P. Flor. 295: nun of Hermopolis, P. Leipz. 43 = M. Chr. 98.

§ 21. Examination of candidates for priesthood, P. Tebt. 291 = W. Chr. 137.

§ 22. Cultivation of land, cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* pp. 326-8.

§ 23. Hermopolis papyrus, P. Lond. 131: Memphis papyrus, B.G.U. 14: Oxyrhynchos papyri, P. Oxy. 1631, 1692.

§ 24. Wages of labourers, cf. A. Segrè, *Circolazione monetaria e prezzi nel mondo antico*, pp. 38-43: rate in 78, P. Lond. 131: in 105, P. Fay. 102: in 314, P.E.R. Ez000 (Segrè): in 338, P. Leipz. 97.

§ 25. "Letter of Hadrian," *Hist. Aug. Saturninus*, 8: Aurelian, *Hist. Aug. Aurel.* 45: local industries, cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* pp. 258-60.

§ 26. Trade-licences, cf. c. viii. §§ 9-10: application from Oxyrhynchos, P. Oxy. 1263: guarantees from Antinoopolis, P. Strasb. 46-9: oath of egg-seller, P. Oxy. 83=W. Chr. 430: contract to sell oil, P. Oxy. 1455: declarations as to pigs, B.G.U. 92=W. Chr. 427; B.G.U. 649=W. Chr. 428; B.G.U. 730.

§ 27. Declarations of trade-bodies, P. Oxy. 85: president, P. Oxy. 84=W. Chr. 197: apprenticeship, cf. W. Westermann in *Class. Philology*, ix. p. 295; introduction to P. Oxy. 1647.

§ 28. Bazaar at Koptos, P. Giess. 47=W. Chr. 326: undertaking to work, P.S.I. 162.

§ 29. Oriental trade, see c. i. §§ 25, 30, c. ii. § 34, c. iv. § 21, c. vi. §§ 9, 29: cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* pp. 265-7.

§ 30. Koptos tariff, I.G.R. 1183: post, cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 374.

§ 31. Cf. *The Currency of Egypt under the Romans to the Time of Diocletian*, A.A.A. vii. 51-66.

§ 32. Values in drachmas in 349, P. Amh. 140; in 350, P. Gen. 11; in myriads of denarii in 316, P. Oxy. 896: value of hide, P. Oxy. 1057: use of bronze as counters, cf. J.R.S. x. p. 183: P. Oxy. 1223 (4th cent.), 1911 (557 A.D.).

§ 33. Types of currency in sixth-seventh centuries, cf. list in J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 1908/9*, pp. 37-42: equation of bronze and gold, P. Oxy. 1904 (618 A.D.).

§ 34. Banks, cf. Schubart, *Einführung*, p. 426: account-books, P. Tebt. 347; P. Fay. 153; cf. F. Preisigke in *Arch. Pap.* iv. 95.

§ 35. Festivals, cf. Schubart, *Einführung*, pp. 449-52: gladiators at Alexandria, P. Leipz. 57; P. Flor. 278: speech against Maximus, P. Oxy. 471: accounts of festivals, P. Oxy. 519=W. Chr. 492; P. Oxy. 1025=W. Chr. 493: texts, P. Oxy. 413: encomium, P. Oxy. 1015.

§ 36. Engagements of performers, P. Flor. 74 (Hermopolis); P. Oxy. 1275 (Oxyrhynchos); P. Grenf. ii. 67=W. Chr. 497 (Bacchias); P. Gen. 73=W. Chr. 496 (Philadelphia); P. Lond. 331=W. Chr. 495 (Sokn. Nesos). A new text, with a full discussion of the evidence as to hiring of performers for festivals, has been published by W. L. Westermann, *The Castanet Dancers of Arsinoe*, J.E.A. x. pp. 134-44, to which is appended a further text of the same class in the *British Museum* edited by H. I. Bell, *A Musician's Contract*, pp. 145-6.

§ 37. Games of Antinoopolis, P.S.I. 199: privileges of victor, P. Lond. 1164: endowment at Oxyrhynchos, P. Oxy. 705=W. Chr. 153: festival-accounts, P. Oxy. 519=W. Chr. 492: gymnastic display, P. Oxy. 42=W. Chr. 154: diploma of Union, P. Lond. 1178.

§ 38. Race-course of Oxyrhynchos, P. Oxy. 138=M. Chr. 352; P. Oxy. 145, 152: factions at Alexandria, John of Nikiou, 119.

§ 39. Invitation, P. Oxy. 112=W. Chr. 488: imperial festivals, P. Oxy. 1021=W. Chr. 113 (Nero); P. Giess. 3=W. Chr. 491 (Hadrian); B.G.U. 646=W. Chr. 490 (Pertinax); S.B. 421 (Maximus); P. Oxy. 705=W. Chr. 153 (Jewish revolt); B.G.U.

362=W. Chr. 96 (temple of Arsinoë): "august" days, cf. Blumenthal in Arch. Pap. v. p. 336: (the "august" days probably ranked in the calendar much as minor saints' days do now, in contradistinction to the red-letter days of the major festivals).

§ 40. Dissolution of clubs by Flaccus, Philo, adv. Flacc. 1: synod of Amenotbes, Theb. Ost. Gr. 142: fines on members of clubs, Gnomon 108.

§ 41. Invitations to dinner at Oxyrhynchos, see list in introd. to P. Oxy. 1484-7: in Fayûm, P. Fay. 132=W. Chr. 485: correspondence of Gemellus, P. Fay. 113-9: Alexandrian parties, Philo, de Vitâ Contempl. 5; Athenæus, x. 17: harvest-festivals, P. Fay. 95; P. Amh. 93=W. Chr. 314; P. Flor. 131: provision for thallos, instances collected in P. Ryl. 166, note on l. 18; (the modern Italian cortesia may be compared).

§ 42. Baths at Euhemereia, P. Ryl. 124: at Oxyrhynchos, P. Oxy. 43=W. Chr. 474; P. Giess. 50; P. Oxy. 54=W. Chr. 34; P. Oxy. 896=W. Chr. 48: in Byzantine period, cf. M. Gelzer in Arch. Pap. v. p. 368: at Hermopolis, P. Flor. 384: on great estates, P. Oxy. 148, 1921, 2015: new bath at Oxyrhynchos, P. Oxy. 2040.

§ 43. Passport, P. Oxy. 1271: tourists, cf. Greek and Roman tourists in Egypt, J.E.A. iii. pp. 76-80.

§ 44. Turbulence of Egypt, see c. vii. § 3, c. ii. § 11: complaints from Oxyrhynchos, P. Oxy. 1831, 1853, 1866, 1867, 1873 (transl. Grenfell-Hunt).

§ 45. Petitions from Euhemereia, P. Ryl. 124-52: complaint of vegetable-seller, B.G.U. 22: complaint from Oasis, P. Grenf. ii. 78=M. Chr. 63: life of Schenute, Mém. Miss. Arch. Fr. iv. (Arabic life) p. 356: cf. G. Rouillard, L'administration civile de l'Égypte Byzantine, pp. 174-83.

§ 46. Edicts of prefects, e.g. I.G.R. 1262 (Capito), 1263 (Alexander): letters on peculation, P. Oxy. 474; on audit of accounts, P. Tebt. 315=W. Chr. 71; of Gemellus, P. Fay. 117, 118: life of Schenute, Mém. Miss. Arch. Fr. iv. (Coptic life) fol. 26: order to head-man, P.S.I. 47: petition from Aphrodito, P. Flor. 295: private retainers, P. Cairo, 67089: cf. Rouillard, L'administration civile, p. 185.

§ 47. Gemellus, see Grenfell-Hunt, introd. to P. Fay. 110: letter of Aline, P. Giess. 19 (transl. H. I. Bell, J.E.A. vi. 235: the whole of Bell's article "The Historical Value of Greek Papyri" may be read for the picture of life in Egypt): letter of Taus, P. Giess. 17=W. Chr. 481.

ADDENDA

- P. 34, § 12. The extension in the use of figures belonging to the native religion as types on Alexandrian coins which began in the reign of Domitian has lately been fully discussed by J. Vogt (*Die Alexandrinischen Münzen*, Stuttgart, 1924, pp. 55 ff.). He rightly points out that the local gods are represented on the nome coins according to the Alexandrian interpretation of the Egyptian mythology, though he seems to go too far in ascribing this to the Roman official control of worship. There is no evidence that the ideologos interested himself in the details of particular cults, nor is there any reason to suppose that the choice of types at the Alexandrian mint was prescribed by the government. It would certainly appear that the engravers at the mint were left very much to their own devices in regard to the portraits and legends on the obverse of the coins, and it would be reasonable to suppose that they would have at least as free a hand in the selection of types for the reverse, which was officially of less importance.
- P. 130, § 16. The order of precedence of the town magistrates before 200 A.D. has been a matter of much discussion: a summary of the schemes proposed is given by Grenfell and Hunt in their note on P. Oxy. 1412. But these schemes are mainly based on the order in which various offices are stated to have been held by individuals, and assume that there was a regular *cursus honorum* in the Egyptian towns, following which a man would proceed step by step up the ladder of office. It is clear, however, from P. Ryl. 77 that this assumption is not in accord with the facts of the case given there: a man who was proposed for the office of kosmetes offered to undertake that of exegetes, which was admittedly higher; and no objection was raised to his offer on the ground that he had never been kosmetes, though other

reasons were advanced against it : the only post he is said to have held previously was that of agoranomos, which is usually regarded as two or three grades below that of kosmetes or exegetes. And the office of gymnasiarch, which ranked either first or second, was sometimes held by a child : in P. Ryl. 103 an ex-gymnasiarch occurs as still a minor acting through a guardian, and a mummy-ticket (Cairo Cat. Greek Inscriptions, 9314) refers to a boy who died at the age of eleven and had been gymnasiarch, which suggests that if he had had to go through the *cursus* he must have held office in his cradle. But as all the posts were theoretically voluntary, it seems improbable that a regular order would be required in their tenure : a man would naturally offer himself for the least expensive post first, and so it would happen that those who held a succession of offices would tend to hold them in much the same order : this, however, was incidental.

P. 194, § 16. The only instances of Hera-types on Alexandrian coins are the bust of Hera of Argos in the series of Nero mentioned in § 22, and a purely Græco-Roman figure on a bronze of Julia Domna (Dattari, pl. xiii. 4035) : the latter is one of a group of bronzes of Caracalla which, as pointed out by Vogt (as above, p. 171), marks a change in the traditional treatment of religious subjects by the Alexandrian mint : it may be added that it belongs to a period when the issues of bronze had received the character of medals rather than of regular currency. There is no genuinely Greek type of Kronos recorded from Alexandria : in the fourth year of Antoninus Pius a Græco-Egyptian figure and bust are found (Dattari, pl. xvii. 2684, 2685), which by comparison with the coins of the Ombite nome struck under Trajan (Dattari, pl. xxxiv. 6327) can be certainly identified with the compound Kronos-Geb : the tendencies of the Alexandrian mint in the choice of types during the reign of Antoninus are analysed by Vogt (as above, p. 120).

P. 202, § 24. A good account is given by Vogt (as above, p. 79) of the evidence as to the worship of Demeter at Alexandria which can be derived from the coin-types. It should, however, be remembered that this evidence relates only to Alexandria, and cannot be admitted as material to the question of the theological concepts in Egypt outside the city.

- P. 263, § 32. A hoard of coins found last season at Qau by Professor Petrie provides some fresh evidence which requires a modification of the view taken here. The hoard was apparently deposited about 480 A.D., and includes, together with a large proportion of worn specimens of fourth-century coins and a few fifth-century pieces, a number of what seem to be barbarous copies of the official issues of these centuries, of at least two distinct groups. These facts suggest the idea that, while there was no imperial mint working at Alexandria at this time, imitations of the authorised currency were being made by some persons in Egypt; and these persons may well have been the great landlords, the usurpation by whom of the prerogative of striking money would not be extraordinary in comparison with their general attitude towards the central government. There has not, however, been time yet to work out fully the evidence of this hoard.

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